COMMEMORATOR

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Volume 4, Number 3 **December 1994**

Low Income Communities Reject State and Federal Enterprise Zones

Photo by WSWA

Protestors converged on the California capitol to fight state Enterprise Zone bill SB 344 that allocated Packard-Bell a $5 million tax-subsidy, in addition to the city of Sacramento's loan of $26 million, and 20 years rent free to the computer corporation. As with all EZs the relocation will replace union wage jobs with slave wage jobs.

by Chaeo Premo Ahsar

African-American, Hispanic, and other low-income communities targeted for state and federal "enterprise zone" programs rose up and rejected this new form of slavery throughout 1994, inflicting severe defeat on politicians of all races who offered this program as the road to new jobs for low-income communities.

"We oppose enterprise zones because they are adding to the destruction of low-income and minority communities," Tiffany Hall, representing the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party, told the California Assembly Committee on Utilities and Commerce. "Remember, the Black Panther Party got started when a whole generation of African-Americans were hit by the economic decline that destroyed the union jobs that brought their parents to California in the first place. Enterprise zones are breaking the last remnant of the unionized jobs that made it worthwhile for our grandparents and great grandparents to come out here. With cheaper labor, buying power diminishes, which means small businesses cannot survive, which means the tax base is decreased."

Zones Create Permanent Underclass

Enterprise zones create a permanent underclass of workers in a concentrated location. EZs use forced relocation, linking employer tax breaks to the creation of American "Sowetos," redistributing wealth and income upward, leaving small business unable to compete and wages depressed at the lowest possible levels. Low-income workers under virtual slave conditions cannot afford to purchase manufactured goods, creating a steadily declining economic sit-

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Cuba: Education and Health Care Surpasses U.S. Despite Embargo

Cuba is undergoing economic crisis, the standard of living has plunged in the past few years. While the rationing system ensures that no one goes hungry, there is less food available, the diet is monotonous, and people must often wait in long lines to buy food.

While infant mortality rates in American cities rival those of Calcutta and Paraguay, Cuba has maintained health and education standards which seem to be more out of reach than ever for most Americans. Cuban health care standards persist even in the face of severe economic isolation that the U.S. government spends billions of dollars a year to maintain.

All Cubans continue to have access to free education, but fewer books and school supplies are available. The medical system miraculously still provides top quality care, but medicines and supplies are often scarce.

Ironically, Cuba had responded to U.S. allegations of repressive immigration laws in Cuba by allowing all who would like to freely immigrate from Cuba to leave, without red tape. The U.S. response was to intern Cuban immigrants at INS detention centers and the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay. The influx became so great that the U.S. government, fearing another Haiti-type migration, or a migration like the one instigated by the U.S. in 1982 known as the Mariel boat lift, called on Cuba to halt the immigration. Meanwhile the U.S. slowed immigration procedures and

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Photo courtesy of Cleo Managa

Cuban youth find joy in their country where all races are treated equally and the working and ruling class are one and the same.

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Anatomy of a Government Raid on a Harlem Mosque

Race, Religion, Business, Politics, and Zone Blood Money

Conclusion

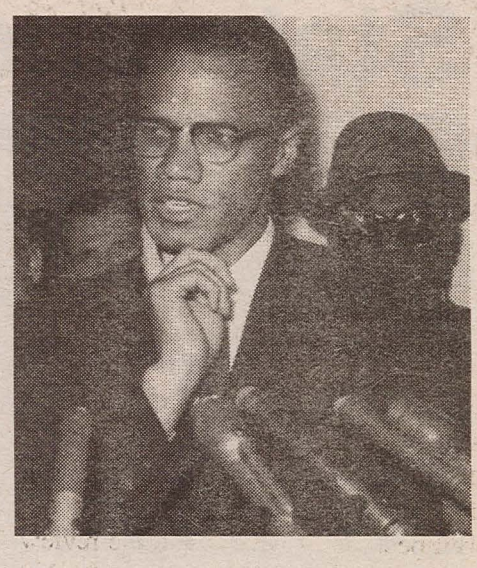
This was supposed to be a done deal, but Dinkins lost his mayoral reelection bid. Giuliani's election strategy, in part, rested on his attempt to split the minority vote by using Herman Badillo to try to help build an alliance between the Hasidic community, who were some of Giuliani's biggest financial contributors and strongest vote supporters, and the elements of the Latino community.

It's no accident that shortly after winning, Giuliani (under whose regime the Mosque was raided) donned a gold-embroidered yarmulke, promised the Williamsburg Jewish community more housing development, held a press conference at the United Talmudical Academy and met with Satmar Hasidic leaders. He also spoke with Rabbi Lieb Glantz, the Yeshiva's executive director.

The Giuliani camp hoped that a Badillo-led formation of a Hispanic-Hasidic coalition, combined with low voter turnout for Dinkins in key black community areas, would win Giuliani the election. Badillo is one of several New York politicians who have been tied to possible influence-peddling to stop investigations into alleged misuse by Yeshiva's and other Jewish educational institutions of federal educational grant money.

There is a view in black political circles that had Dinkins accepted Farrakhan's support he might well have beat Giuliani, given the narrow margin of victory, because of the NOI's ability to mobilize bloc voting in NYC areas, such as Harlem, where the Mosque raid occurred. Politicians such as Al Sharpton, who may run for Moynihan's Senate seat, and New Alliance Party's Dr. Lenora Fulani, whom Farrakhan has endorsed as a so-called independent against Cuomo for governor, bear witness to NOI political capital. Some political analysts believe that Cuomo's failure to secure zone status blood money for Harlem's elite special business, religious, real estate and development interests combined with Fulani's drain on his black vote base, especially in the face of a Jewish-Hispanic coalition and Cuomo's Clintonesque gallows conversion to fiscal conservatism might destroy the traditional so-called Democratic gubernatorial vote base.

Giuliani has said he will not honc



El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz

former Mayor Dinkins's pledge that Harlem would be nominated by the Mayor and Governor, as required to be designated an EZ. Giuliani has endorsed the Williamsburg-Greenpoint community, heavily populated by members of the Satmar Hasidic Jewish sect and sections of the South Bronx, heavily populated by Latinos. This community is in the jurisdiction

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BOOK REVIEW:

SHADOW OF THE PANTHER:

Huey Newton and the Price of Black Power in America

Reviewed by Ben Moore, *Commemorator* Staff

It is sad to see yet another book come out that attempts to smear the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton with an array of untruths and distortions. But we're not especially surprised. Hugh Pearson's *THE SHADOW OF THE PANTHER* is only the latest in a whole series of supposedly unbiased exposés on this topic. Pearson is most likely not even aware of the bill of goods he's been sold. He is probably only somewhat aware that he is fitting right into a scheme of distortions and falsifications perpetrated by government agencies and eagerly repeated by a pro-Establishment press and intellectuals: he is only the most recent in a long line.

Why do these books keep coming out? The series began as far back as 1970, with Don Schanche's book, *The Panther Paradox*. It claims to be an unbiased attempt at reporting, yet in the very first pages refers to Panther party members' "banal, adolescent chatter" and calls them "naive, malleable ghetto kids, angry and despairing, but not naturally vicious or mean-spirited." Hardly designed to present a neutral picture.

Pearson's book is depressingly similar. Hardly any time is spent on the programs of the Black Panther Party, its political agenda, or Huey P. Newton's intelligence and his ability to inspire people. Instead, as one ex-Panther remarked after reading the book, "it's just a collection of gossip." Pearson hardly did any of the basic research that one might expect in a biography or historical book. He only spoke with four or five actual ex-Panthers, all of whom are well-known in the community for their strong personal dislike of Huey P. Newton, and with Establishment figures like Tom Nash, former editor of the *Oakland Post*. He did not talk to Huey Newton's family, Bobby Seale, or any other activists from the same period.

Most of his stories are only substantiated by a single source or by an article in the *San Francisco Examiner* or the *Chronicle*. (Sometimes he goes out on a limb and uses the *Oakland Tribune*.) The only source for some of the wildest stories about Newton and the Panthers is David Horowitz, a man who converted from '60s radicalism to Reaganite conservatism, and who has dedicated many of his recent years to spreading lurid stories about the Black Panthers, sometimes astonishing in their grotesque invention.

He does not even attempt to present a single positive thing about the Panthers. For example, in his discussion of the widely praised Free Breakfast program, he boldly states that the program was only a propaganda tool (a feat reminiscent of the recent declaration by the San Francisco police that the Food Not

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Letters to the Editor

"Shadow," A Terrible Book

Editor's Note:

The following is a letter to the editors of the East Bay Express, written by Rev. Tom Sanders. The letter is in response to a 5 August 1994 East Bay Express book review by Lee Hildebrand on The Shadow of the Panther (Hugh Pearson's book). Rev. Sanders says the East Bay Express would not print his letter so he sent the letter to us, here at the Commemorator, in hopes that we would publish his critique of the East Bay's review In his words, "It's a terrible book and people should be warned about it."

Dear Sir, (*Express*)

Lee Hildebrand's view of Hugh Pearson's *The Shadow of a Panther: Huey Newton and the Price of Black Power* reminds me of the *Chicago Time's* review of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address in 1863: "...silly, flat, and dishwatery utterances..." But not because the book itself is good. But because of what it and the review left out and their distortion of what Huey Newton was like when he and Bobby Seale first organized the Black Panthers.

The book and Hildebrand's review of it distorts Huey Newton, Ph.D., and fails to show why Huey and Bobby [Seale] would think there was a place for a Black Panther organization in the first place. The true nature of anything, Aristotle said, is what it becomes at its best, at its highest. The true nature of Dr. Huey Newton was unsurpassed.

If we dwelt only upon John Brown and his sons chopping the Doyles to bits with broadswords at Potawatomie Creek in Kansas and his later being found guilty of murder, conspiring with slaves to rebel, and for committing treason against Virginia (even though he was not a citizen of that state and owed it no allegiance) by his raid on Harper's Ferry, we, along with Lincoln, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and others, would not consider him a great hero.

Because of the true nature of the Quakers today we can conveniently overlook that "in 1756 there were 84 Quakers listed as members of the company trading to Africa...Slave dealing was one of the most lucrative investments of English or of American Quakers, and the name of a slaver, The Willing Quaker, reported from Boston at Sierra Leone in 1793..." (Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, Perigee Books, N.Y., 1980, p.43).

The White Problem in the United States only gets worse and we whites are responsible for it. We are still living with the unresolved problems of 1619, 1793, 1865, and the 1960s. Time solves nothing. Time can make things worse as well as better.

The victims of the White Problem in American society are not simply the twelve percent of us who are black and the fourteen percent or so who are officially below the "poverty line." About three-fourths of us are relatively poor compared to the standards of the top families who own the U.S. All of us, except for the top ten-percent, are just "house niggers," allowed better food than the "field niggers" and wearing fancier clothes than the "field niggers." But none of us own a single row of the cotton patch. Massa owns it all—the two or three percent who own and control the U.S.—is the real problem—the White Problem.

The media preaches about the great progress made in this country since the Civil Rights Acts and desegregation. Thus, the murderer pleads guilty to manslaughter to avoid conviction that might lead to his being executed. White liberal America is pleading guilty to savagery and oppression against the Blacks of 100 years ago in order to escape trial for the crimes of today.

If too many blacks are unemployed, it is because of job discrimination in the American city and its poor school system that failed them. If too many blacks live in ghetto slums, it is because the government has failed to build enough new low-cost, integrated housing for them. If juvenile delinquency, adult crime, and drug addiction appear to be high among blacks, it is because the government and the economic system has failed to provide a glimmer of hope that there are other choices. If Huey Newton became a drug addict, resorted to personal violence, and actually seemed to be insane at times it is because of his time spent in prison with criminals, the constant threat on his life by the police and others, the free drugs provided by government agents, and the general program by the federal government to destroy him as a person and as a leader of his people. I was surprised that he lived as long as he did, because, although I never met Huey, he and I had mutual friends from his high school days.

Huey had a basic understanding of society when he and Bobby Seale first began organizing the Black Panthers. They may have been naive about many things, but they knew that with the onset of automation in industry that blacks were moving out of their historical state of oppression into one of uselessness. They knew that their present anguish did not rise out of brutalities of past oppression, but out of being discarded as a waste product of technological production.

Today race is not necessary for exclusion; industrialists simply dispose of jobs rather than blacks. Why discriminate when one can eliminate?

The college door is open to all persons meeting the formal requirements, but few blacks can qualify because of their poor schools, poverty stricken homes and neighborhoods that discourage study and preparing for the future. A future of what?

Yet, it is not that oppression which destroys people. It is the acceptance of oppression. Huey in the early days of the Panthers spoke of the symbols of his fellow humans' broken faith with themselves. He and Bobby shouted for all the world to hear that white America had betrayed the human spirit and that of all acts this was the most treasonable. Like the Hebrew prophet Jeremiah he was locked up in prison to silence and destroy him. And he spent the rest of his life struggling to survive the strange experiences that the system provided for him—most of it, drugs and all, free of charge.

A book review like Hildebrand's does a great disservice because it ignores recent historical facts that Pearson's book also ignores. Neither man shows that they grasp the fact that the nation's high crime rate (because of drugs), the deterioration of our entire infrastructure, the AIDS epidemic, and other major problems require the cooperation of every major social, political, and religious institution in the U.S. The power structure has made the decision that blacks and other ethnic minorities are expendable.

These decision makers have decided to let the "final solution" be general neglect, AIDS, drugs, etc. Thus, they can engage in clean violence (starvation, disease, and drugs) against those they want to eliminate.

The Germans, under the Nazis, demonstrated that a modern state can successfully organize an entire people for its own extermination. They made Jews wear a yellow star so they could be easily recognized. Blacks' skin and culture take the place of the yellow star.

Well-off whites cannot grasp what is happening to this country. Isolated from the destitute poor they refuse to believe that, even with the horrors of World War II, that the 20th century has been the century par excellence that is beyond good and evil.

It is up to us writers and artists to make known the truths that are kept out of books, art, and the media in general. We must not ignore distortions

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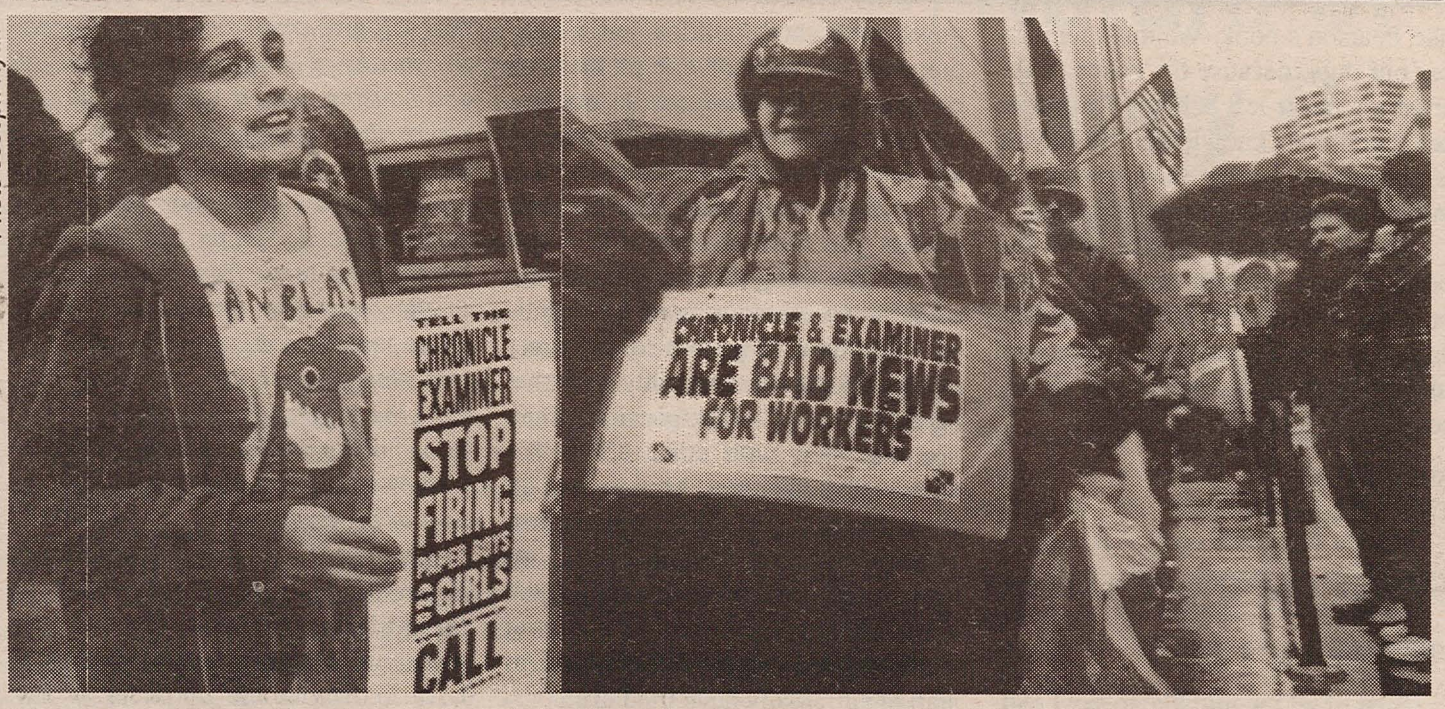

Photo Joseph Ryan

The recent San Francisco Chronicle-Examiner strike has not been settled to the satisfaction of more than 350 Teamsters, truck drivers, deliverymen, as well as the 800 youth carriers. Both Teamsters and kids have lost jobs as a result of management hiring scabs and contract-truck drivers to replace them. Both sides are charging each other with negotiating the new labor contract in "bad faith." The National Labor Relation Board (NLRB) took the side of management, or "business as usual." There is talk that the fight is not over.

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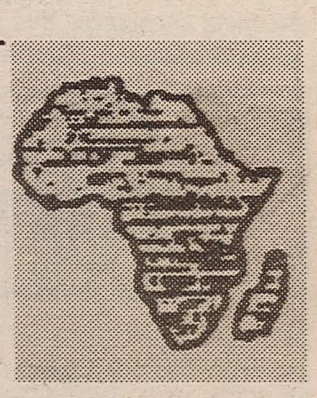

Letters to the Editor

like Pearson's book. We must remember our duty, because the truths of the artist are never left behind. Time does not touch their knowledge. Aeschylus is not superceded by Shakespeare; the milleniums do not diminish Homer.

There are many truths and one book cannot contain them all. The need for truth may be more sacred than any other need. Truth lights up the soul in proportion to its purity, not in any sense to its quantity.

Sincerely,
Tom Sanders

Solving Our Own Problems

Dear Editor,

First of all I would like to say I really like reading the *Commemorator*. I have to agree with you on one thing — we as oppressed people have to solve our own problem. However if we spend hundreds and hundreds of years trying to solve our problem, we must be overlooking something. I was in the army once and my first sergeant told us in order for him to win a battle he would have to first get rid of some of us. That's right; he felt his own soldiers were just as big of a threat as the enemy. I mean, let's be logical about this drug business. Here is an African-American male, the spiritual head of the race, selling poison to his female. He has taken upon himself the role of slave master.

No matter what good he may do, he is an enemy to the people. After that, anyone in the community that sits back and does nothing about this problem is in cahoots with the enemy, including myself. Let's look at the money side if nothing else. The money that drug addicts are spending can rebuild an entire community. It is the fastest means of money changing hands that I know of. There will more than likely always be some type of drug problem. The point I'm getting at, is this bunch of addicts and dealers part of your community? And if the answer is yes, can you rebuild your community with a positive sense of awareness with such dirty business operating just outside of your living room? I don't think so!

I understand some laws of economics, that if there is a demand for a particular item, there will be a supplier. And I understand some law of preservation: a hungry man will survive at all costs. So forget about the drug dealers; they are no problem at all. They are simply suppliers of highly addictive chemical substances that happen to be in great demand. Obviously it's the government and politics but finger pointing will not solve a problem as complex as this. You can do nothing with the dealer because jails, prisons and graveyards are full of them.

So if you were going after the drug dealers you were chasing after a bad dream. The thing to do is go after the users — no users, no need for suppliers. You have to go out to the street and get people off this highly addictive chemical called crack-cocaine. Then you can start with other drugs like alcohol and cigarettes. Money used on these things can rebuild entire nations. Believe it or not, many people on drugs want to stop but honestly don't know what to do, due to their confused state of mind many have stopped to start again. Many have tried drug programs to be chased away due to humiliation in the name of psychotherapy. I'm not sure what avenue to take but I have an article from the *New England Journal of Medicine* dated May 5,1988 vol 318 no. 18 page 1173-82 "Cocaine and Other Stimulants," by Dr. Frank H. Grawin.

In the section on experimental pharmacy therapies, it talks about an anti-depressant called desipramine hydrochloride. The article states abstinence was initiated in 90% of desipramine-treated subjects as compared with less than 50% of rodents who were given other agents or who continued psychotherapy without medication. Perhaps we need our own substance abuse clinics, after all, it is our own problem. Please place me on your mailing list and I hope to hear from you soon. Pen pals welcome.

Victor C. Davis
San Quentin, CA

Dealing with Our Drug Problem

Dear Victor

I have to respect your concern for solutions to the ever-growing problems our low-income, African-American community faces, such as the proliferation of drugs and crime. We also agree that we must go into our neighborhoods and organize our own programs — but independent of government control.

Yes, we agree. We must begin to build our own alcohol and drug programs in our oppressed communities. The government is cutting the money for treatment and putting the money into enforcement and arrests of small time dealers.

We must also go after supply. We need a Witness Protection Program that will give small dealers an alternative means of income, i.e., a good job and housing, etc., if they tell who and where their suppliers are. We could then follow that trail all the way to the top. You and I both know where that trail will lead. Simply put, that drug trail always leads from the oppressed to the oppressor. Drugs sold on the street come into this country on planes and ships, which are not owned by even the biggest dealers on the streets of our communities. As always, those who own the capital investment are the root of the problem.

So your Army sergeant was right. Before we can get to the root cause of the problem, before we can take the enemy successfully, we are going to have to remove the obstacles to that success. We realize where our government stands on this question, because if they were serious about stopping drugs, this is what that would do—so if we are to build these programs we must do it ourselves, from the bottom up.

I can remember in the mid-60s, living in the Bay Area, laboring for $4 per hour, 40 hours per week, and making enough money to pay rent for a modern apartment in a working-class community, buy food, make a car payment, and then having enough to date female friends from time to time. Today, the same labor and pay will not do half those things that it did 30 years ago. Why?

We have to understand the relationship between labor and capital—as all wealth, initially, derives from labor—the relationship between the marketplace and the workforce—the relationship between surplus labor and capital. This has to be the key because the relationship between price and wage have a direct relationship to the poverty in our neighborhoods; just as poverty has a direct relationship to the increasing level of crime and drug use in low-income communities everywhere.

History shows that drug use and addiction increase in direct proportion to poverty. You name the poor and oppressed community, anywhere in the world, and I'll show you their attempt to escape the pain, uncertainty and instability that their poverty brings.

What we see needs to happen is to first build independently based grassroots-organizations that have the ability to provide survival programs, along the line of the Black Panther Party, with the goal of fundamental change in the economic system that perpetuates poverty, crime, and drug and alcohol dependence on the one hand, and greed and wealth on the other. We use the Black Panther Party 10-Point Program as a framework. This is not duplicating the Party—after all, the Party didn't win—but using its positive contributions to build on.

For example, when we call for a New War Against Poverty, this strategy is broad enough for any local group to join, in a way that contributes to the overall goal stated in Point #10 of the BPP program, which calls for people to take responsibility for instituting new forms of relationship for a more just system of government, as stated in the Declaration of Independence.

That is the bottom line. That is why we have mounted a New War Against Poverty. Our goal is to end poverty by any means necessary. In this war, any noun (person, place or thing) that promotes poverty is the enemy and any noun that fights poverty is an ally. Any obstacle to the advance of the anti-poverty forces must be removed. Drugs are but one such obstacle. Ignorance is another.

Through the Commemorator *and other vehicles, we will remove that obstacle of ignorance, and given your obvious and admirable concern for the plight of the oppressed people, we could use your help.*

See You in 5 Months

To whom it may concern,

My name is Earnest Harris, I'm a subscriber to your paper, I know I should have written you a letter a long time ago. I have been receiving your paper for almost a year now and I am very interested in any material so that you can teach me more about your movement.

I'm a well-liked black male, 28 years of age from Oakland, California. As you already know I am in prison. I am strong in heart and mind and I have alot of people behind me. And I would love to join anything you've got to offer for better solutions for our people. There are things I would like to say but I can't because they will take my mail. So whoever reads this letter, if and when you write back, please give me some knowledge and understanding because I am ready for the change.

And if you send any material put your label on it or I won't get it. I'll be released in about four to five months, can you set up an appointment so I can talk to someone about joining your movement?

Ernest Harris
Vacaville, CA

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NEW WAR AGAINST POVERTY

The New War against Poverty is a new section (photo collage and captions) to be carried by the *Commemorator* each issue. The goal of this section is to bring the oppressed communities and concerned people visual news of their struggles for liberation nationally and internationally—to highlight the class war and to tie together the many fronts of struggle, and to build intercommunal solidarity for real progressive change.

This photo collage and captions, like the regular articles we run, will highlight struggles from many fronts: The fight for comprehensive health care for all; the fight for jobs with decent wages; the fight for housing and education for all; where we are winning and where we are losing the New War Against Poverty—against oppression.

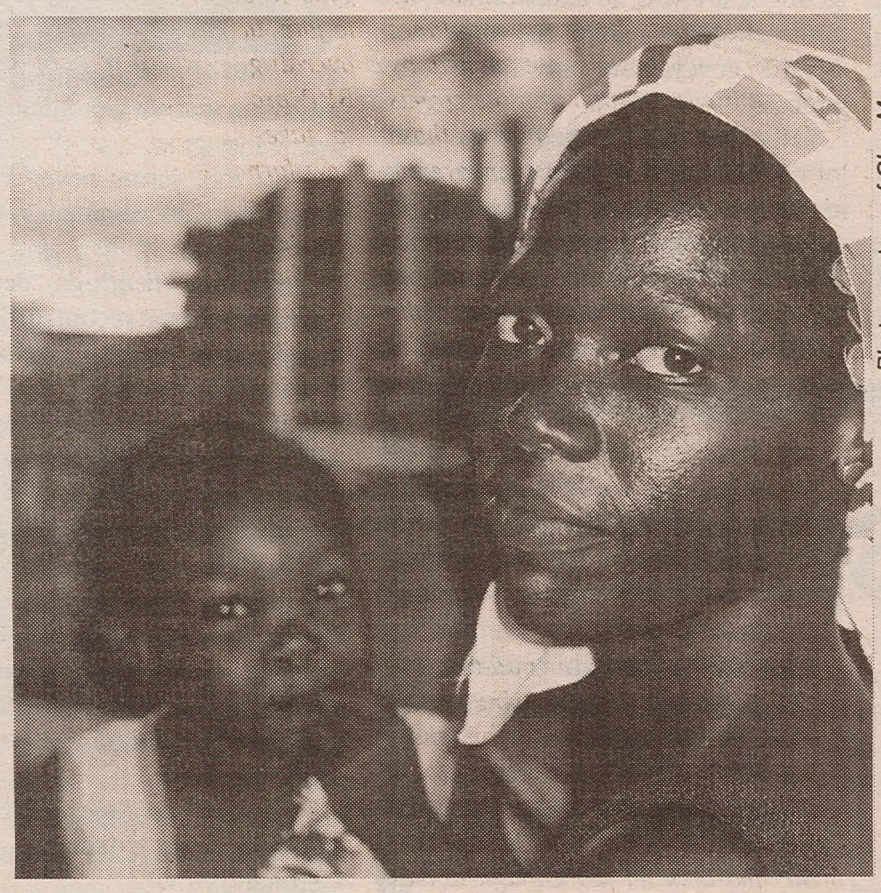


Photo courtesy of Cleo Managa

Why Black Babies Die More Often Than White Babies

The U.S. infant mortality rate dropped to a record low, but black babies died at more than twice the rate of whites and the gap is growing, federal health officials reported yesterday.

For every 1,000 births in 1990, 9.2 babies died before age one, down from 9.8 in 1989, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said. It credited most of the drop to a new way of treating the underdeveloped lungs that kill thousands of premature and underweight babies.

The mortality rate for black infants was 18 per 1,000, compared with 7.6 per 1,000 for whites, and the disparity is growing, the CDC said.

The risk of dying was 2.3 times greater for black infants than for white infants in 1989, and it crept up to 2.4 times by 1990, the most recent year for which data are available.

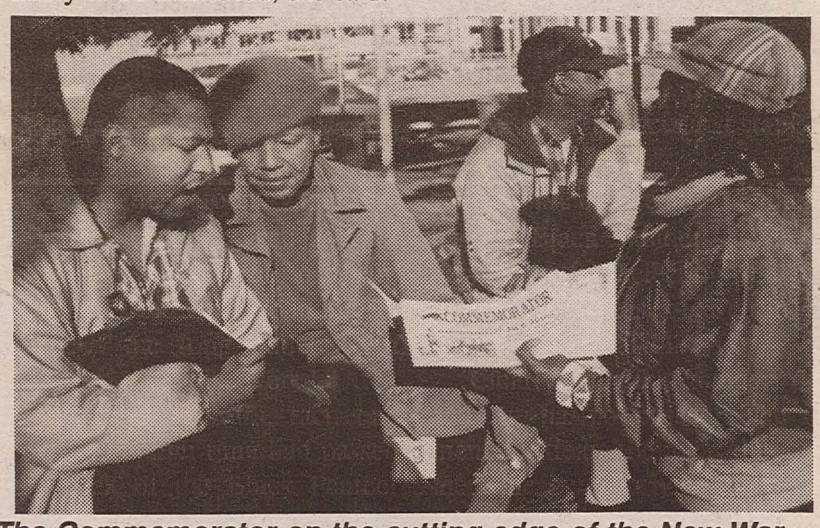
The rate of black infant deaths decreased by 3 percent between 1989 and 1990, while the rate for whites decreased by 6 percent.

Low birth weight was the leading killer of black babies. Birth defects claimed more white babies.

Dr. Marian MacDorman of the CDC said socioeconomic factors probably are to blame for the high death rate among blacks. Nearly three times as many blacks as white infants were born to families living below the poverty line in 1990, and more black women are likely to be uninsured, she said.

Breast Cancer Twice As Deadly for Black Women

CHICAGO, ILL- According to new research released last week, black women are twice as likely as white women to die of breast cancer. The major reason is poverty. The researchers concluded that because of poverty and the lack of education about the disease, black women were less likely to seek early treatment. Emory University Doctor J. William Ely, chief author of the study, said "We have to concentrate on access to mammography and physical breast exams and educating women to understand the risk of breast cancer." The study was published in last week's issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association. It involved over 1,100 women in Atlanta, Georgia, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Oakland, California. It tracked deaths from 1990 and found that black women were 2.2 times more likely to die of breast cancer than white women.



The Commemorator on the cutting edge of the New War Against Poverty.

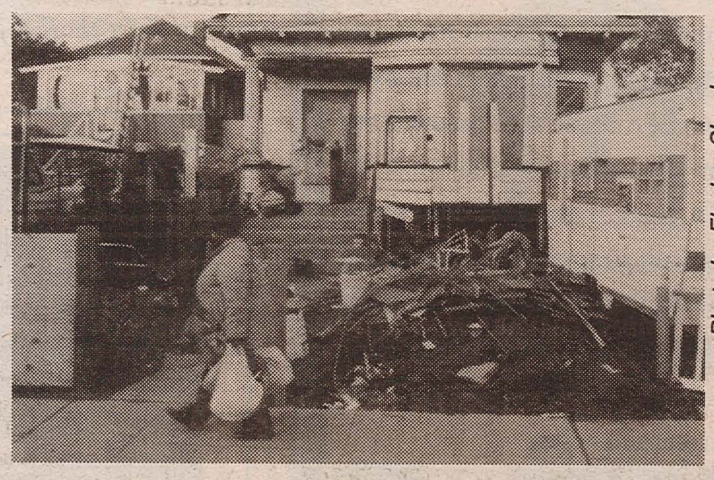


Photo by Flecher Sleudugon

The Commemorator would like to thank the following Bay Area businesses that are participating in the New War Against Poverty through a 10% discount to low-income customers who have signed-up with Western Service Workers Association.

A.O.C. Video, 1500 E. 14th Street
Oakland, CA., (510) 534-2270

Basket Case Antiques, 3400 66th Av. #3
Oakland, (510) 568-0902 *(ask for Herman)*

Dave Anderson (Dazzling Do's), 2270 E. 14th
Oakland, CA, (510) 536-8955

Discolandia Records and Tapes, 2636 E. 14th
Oakland, CA., (510) 261-1520

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Geronimo's Continuing Battle

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

His name is Geronimo, and like his namesake, the great Apache warrior of the 1800's, the government is utilizing every effort, fair and foul, to destroy him.

This Geronimo is a former Black Panther, and for almost a quarter of a century, over 23 years now, the U.S. government, in league with California's state government, has stretched the very fabric of the so-called "law," to first of all; arrest him for a crime they know he's not guilty of; and second, hold him in various state dungeons for decades, as his lifetime passes away.

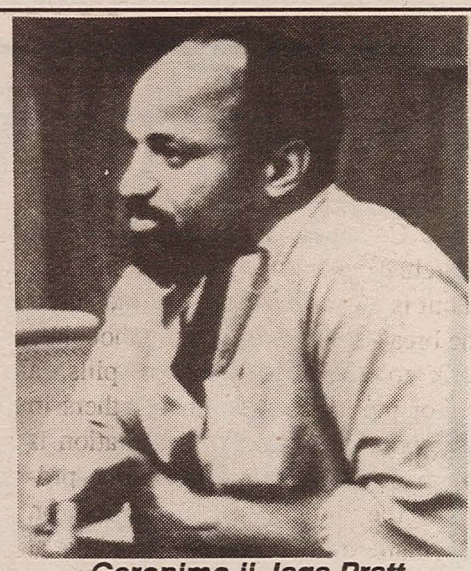
Not content with stealing his life and crippling his freedom, state prison officials have waged a relentless and debilitating campaign of harassment, including retaliatory transfers for his (legal!) efforts to free himself from legal slavery.

In late February, Geronimo ji Jaga won a civil court victory in his efforts against continuing persecution from prison officials, when U.S. District Court Judge Stanley Weigel granted a rare temporary restraining order, ordering officials of Mule Creek Prison, some 40 miles northeast of Stockton, to put Geronimo in "single-cell status" pending further court action.

Geronimo, as a result of his Vietnam War experience, suffered war wounds that continue to necessitate single-cell status, and initially the judge agreed that he was transferred at all was no coincidence, for it has happened several times — each after a burst of favorable publicity, or after a highly publicized court appearance in defense of political prisoners, such as the Puerto Rican Independentistas fighting for national sovereignty.

From the onset of Geronimo's targeting and arrest, to decades later, his futile efforts at parole, the dirty hand of the government has tainted the process.

His conviction hinged on the word of an FBI snitch (who, in sworn testimony to the jury, said he wasn't an FBI informant!), and the police/D.A. withholding of crucial evidence that two other men — known to them since 1970 — had knowingly confessed to the killing that put Geronimo on ice for over 23 years.



Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt

This too, jurors never knew, and they sent an innocent man to the gulag, for life!

At parole hearings, despite his exemplary prison record, officials routinely issued denials, sniffing, "He's still a revolutionary."

Like his Apache namesake, for one who dared to resist this racist white power structure, there can be no justice — only continued repression.

Now, groups like the powerful Teamsters union, the Oakland Education Association, the California Teachers Association, as well as the venerable NAACP, have come out in support of Geronimo and are demanding his freedom.

It's well past time for all of us to join in that demand—to Free Geronimo Now!

Artist on Display

Family Memorial Stools: An African-American Legacy

Making stools to house human relics or the spirits of ancestors is a common practice in many West African societies. Claude Clark carries on this tradition and has designed stools to hold locks of hair from deceased female relatives.

In Claude's family, the custom of "passing on the locks" was a matrillinear practice: Women cut locks of their hair (and labeled them with names and dates) to bequeath to their female children as tokens of remembrance. The custom ended with the third generation of African-Americans in the family, but the locks already in existence continue to be handed down from one generation to the next. In 1974 Claude began carving two stools, each from a single block of wood, with four figures as support columns between the base and seat. Within each stool is a hollow wooden head to contain the locks of hair.

Designer, writer, scholar and Master woodcarver, Clark is a graduate of California College of Arts and Crafts and U.C. Berkeley. He has participated in museum and gallery shows since 1960. Clark is a pioneer in African American Art Curriculum since 1969. He helped his father lay a format for identifying the African Sculpture portion of the curriculum which his father began in 1968.

Between 1973 to 1976 Clark learned the principles of African wood carving.

From 1992 to 1994 he learned the use of Microsoft DOS, Windows, OS/2 Warp operating systems, and how to assemble IBM computers.

It is important that we, as African craftspeople, be the architects and builders of our own culture. We cannot afford to use our relocation in America with our subsequent loss of cultural tradition and need for modernization as an excuse for failure to address ourselves to this dilemma.

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Book Review: SHADOW

Continued from page 2

Bombs free dinners for the poor in the Civic Center are only a front for an anarchist agenda). All Pearson talks about is a bizarre rumor that kids used the breakfast program to get chocolate milk to wash down speed pills, a rumor presented, like many others in the book, as fact. No information is given on the background of the program, the number of children fed, or, as a matter of fact, anything positive at all. One might have thought there was something positive about a free breakfast program. If Pearson does, it's not in print.

One warning about Pearson's bias is his sympathy with the University of California in the Free Speech Movement (page 71). A more severe warning is the way he takes police reports at face value, not questioning their validity despite the obvious fact that the cops hated the Panthers. Astonishingly, he makes very little use of COINTELPRO documents. Since many of these have been released to the public, several fine books have come out which chronicle the destruction and division the FBI wrought on the Socialist Workers' Party, American Indian Movement, and the Black Panthers.

Worst of all, even though it is by now commonly accepted fact that the FBI played a large part in the division and destruction of movements like the Black Panthers', and several well-researched books on the subject have come out, he makes very little use of COINTELPRO memos and hardly discusses the FBI at all.

Incredibly, but fully in line with his style of research, on page 225 of his book, Pearson uses a COINTELPRO memo for evidence that Huey Newton "easily became jealous" and "brooked no criticisms." Yet he admits on page 178 that another COINTELPRO memo reported that "the two things foremost in the Black militant's mind are sex and money....White moral standards do not apply among this type of Negro." At least Pearson does not agree with that memo. Yet he still uses COINTELPRO documents for evidence about the personality traits of Huey Newton?

Another of many examples that could be chosen is the story of the George Jackson escape attempt, for which the only sources Pearson lists are the Hearst families' *San Francisco Chronicle*, Horowitz, and his own article in the *SF Weekly*. If he had bothered to look at COINTELPRO documents, or spoken with fellow prisoners of Jackson like Louis Tackwood, police informant planted in cell with Jackson, he might have discovered strong evidence that Jackson was caught in an FBI plot (see p. 94 and p.410 *Agents of Repression*, Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall). The same goes with the infamous torture and murder of Alex Rackley by George Sams in New Haven — Rackley had been cast as a police infiltrator by Sams, but the actual infiltrator was most likely Sams himself, who turned out to be a paid FBI informer.

It is hard to see how Pearson could have missed certain other COINTELPRO documents, reluctantly released by the government and reproduced in books like Cathy Perkus' *COINTELPRO; The FBI's Secret War On Political Freedom*. It's strange, because he did use some COINTELPRO memos in the book, and he does know that William O'Neal, a man who climbed high in the Chicago Panther hierarchy, was an FBI agent. He even

Continued on page 14

Anatomy of a Raid

Continued from page 2

of Bronx borough president Fernando Ferrer. Designation of Williamsburg-Greenpoint or the South Bronx, as Giuliani endorses, would be advantageous to the upper echelon within an elite inner circle of special business, real estate, development, construction, religious, and so-called non-profit corporate interests as political payoff from the Mayor for past and future services.

Empowerment Zones and Community-Based Organizations

This struggle over spoils of the war against the poor has increasingly polarized special interests around the EZ designation fight over funds on the order of billions of dollars. We have Representative Charles Rangel of the CBC, the Harlem Development Corporation, the Consortium for Central Harlem Development (religious, real estate, and development interests), the Harlem Urban Development Corporation, Rabbi David Niederman and the United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburg, Al Sharpton, the Nation of Islam and others all in the mix of financial and political special interests.

The plan is to induce and coerce the NOI into helping sell the EZ program vis-a-vis a working relationship with the CBC on the one hand or to cripple the NOI's ability to oppose EZs by discrediting it as anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Christ, and anti-White on the other hand. The same ruling class is also eyeing the possibility of using Title 42 grant funding to co-opt the NOI's militant anti-drug and anti-crime vigilance community patrol programs into a fifth column vehicle through which increased police state machinery can be advanced under the pretext of concern over stopping minority crime, drugs, and violence. One commentator went as far as likening the NOI in this respect to the so-called Guardian Angels. There is no shortage of tricks planned to manipulate the NOI and other forces in motion of all races and religions along the lines of racialist-religious division.

We should say a word about how EZ programs or anti-programs are sold to the community in large part by so-called community organizations who depend in whole or part on government funding sources or funding sources under the control and influence of the government and working-class exploiters. The ruling class owns the government; all you have to do is track the cash flow from the pockets of those who pay government's taxes and fees and see whose pockets are fattened through government contracts, breaks, and giveaways. Funding money becomes readily available only for certain proposals that fit ruling-class plans. Some of the best, brightest, and most articulate receive funding, and, to continue to live a lifestyle and run an organization based on that funding, they must sell the man's program at the street level much in the manner of a political prostitute or pusher.

Fifty Percent of Labor Force May Become Temporary Workers

So prepare to see smiling minority faces talking about how it's great not to have to fight Leroy for the food stamps anymore because I'm in a ghetto EZ or other job training program (for higher-paying jobs that never materialize). Every recipient of any form of government benefit found eligible will be forced to choose between benefit termination or being exploited as cheap labor, whether under the guise of job training or not. If you think that living-wage, higher-paying jobs are in the mix when there is a global scramble for cheap labor and economists are telling us that 50 percent of the work force may be temporary workers by the year 2000, then I'd like to talk to you about investing in a couple of bridges. Just ask the next government official you see under what shell in the shell game are the higher-paying jobs.

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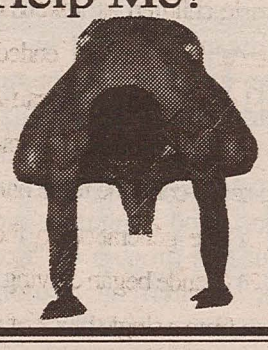

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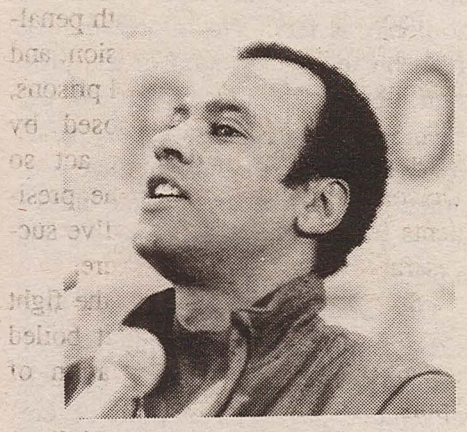
Huey's Corner

Why We Are Nationalists and Internationalists



Dr. Huey P. Newton

To understand the suffering and the developing consciousness of black Americans, you must first be aware of our cultural, economic, and political heritage. And that means, first of all, that you must remember that the blacks of Africa south of the Sahara before the slave trade began were highly organized politically, with a complex system of kings, ministers, a university (at Timbuktu), and a culture which reflected their history, religion, aspirations, and values.

The slavery that did exist then in no way can be compared with what was to follow: A conquered people became the servants of the conquerors, but once the "slaves" accepted and adopted the customs and religion of the victor, they were freed. In fact, they gained complete equal status and often rose to prominence in their new environment. In any case, families were never broken up, human dignity was never violated, and they were never treated as chattels.

At the beginning of the slave trade, around the 1500's or so, Africans did understand the notion of slavery as it affected those blacks who were being taken by Europeans, and sold to them, but they expected to be treated in the same was as they were in Africa when they were vanquished by other Africans.

By August 1619, however, when the first black slaves landed in Jamestown, U.S.A., the slave-trade aspect of European-American imperialism-capitalism had become ingrained in the black's experience. I say "imperialism" because that trade affected a whole slew of other countries and other cultures, and "capitalism" because the prime interest of the Europeans in the slave trade was profit.

The slave trader made profit from selling slaves, and the slave buyer made profit by using the slaves as free labor. Not only was this profit system then incorporated into our own cultural history, but so was the white man's human value system, for our background inevitably includes the fact that some 50 million blacks perished in the process of the slave system-died fighting capture, trying to escape, in rebellions before and then during the long voyage across the Middle Passage, or simply by jumping overboard en route.

This capitalism in the raw, then, not only dominated African countries economically (dependence on the slave trade system by the rapidly developed entrepreneur-collaborationist class), not only set up the economic basis for the new country (the U.S.), not only dominated, partly at least, the economic development of the European countries involved in the slave trade through its entrepreneur middlemen agents, but also totally dominated the cultural values of all those countries by establishing a value system in which individual man, his family, his heritage, his tribe or group, his nation are meant to be subservient or, more, meaningless in face of the value of the profit motive.

Thus it can be correctly stated that not only were the slave-trading states of Africa colonized, but so were the thousands and then millions of black Africans imported into America. We are a colonized people inside the homeland of the colonizer.

And, of course, we were treated as a colonized people. Our culture, religion, and language were forbidden. But this process of "acculturation" to the American colonizer's ways brought no benefits—nor was it meant to. It did not gain us freedom or return to us our sense of dignity. It was forced upon us only in order to make us more efficient as a labor tool, as a means of accumulating profits for the colonizers-exactly what is happening to the colonized and neo-colonized world today. There, big business controls not only the economy and the political institutions of the victim country but attempts to degrade the colonized population and inflict Western culture on it so as to spread Western values, which in turn will guarantee big business its imperialistic hold on that victim.

American imperialism, quite obviously, works not only through the economy and the political institutions, but also through the arts, radio, television, press, book publishing, advertisements, product packaging, etc. The aim is equally obvious: to control the total culture so as to perpetuate the system which brings the profits home.

Well, we were imperialized in the same way for the same way for the same goals. Slaves were not allowed to congregate in threes or more without the presence of a white; they were forced to use English so as to communicate with the bosses and so that they could not maintain their culture; and though they were given no responsibility—which might reawaken their sense of dignity—they were rendered more efficient, while at the same time constantly reminded of their "native" stupidity, and naturally, their inferiority.

Continued Next Issue!

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A Bill That is a Crime

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

The so-called Crime Bill, that profane political expletive, is now the law.

Packing some 60 odd death penalties, a 3 strikes-yer-out provision, and billions of bucks for cops and prisons, the Crime Bill, as proposed by President Clinton, was an act so Draconian that neither of the presidents Bush nor Reagan could've successfully passed such a measure.

So nakedly political was the fight for the bill's passage, that it boiled down to a misleading equation of "pork" vs. "toughness."

Republicans attacked the bill as "pork"; Democrats touted it as "Tough on Crime"; while both parties were merely seeking partisan advantages for the Fall campaigns.

The bill is, in essence, a $30+ billion public employment program for predominantly white workers, a social program if ever there was one, to reflect the changing face of America's socio-political and economic reality.

It is the purest pork to call for building prisons in a nation that leads the entire world in imprisonment of its "citizens."

It is porkchopish in the extreme to call for more cops when cities can't prove one crime solved, and, in fact, are experiencing outbreaks of criminal cops as illustrated by the N.Y. Mollen Commission Hearings.

For prisoners, the Crime Bill outlaws knowledge, as it prohibits government funds for college courses, as the following provision notes; — Sec. 20411. Awards of Pell Grants to Prisoners Prohibited.

"(a) In General. —Section 401(b)(8) of the Higher Education Act

Mumia Abu-Jamal (political prisoner)

of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070.a.(b)(8)) is ammended to read as follows:

"(8) No basic grant shall be awarded under the subpart to any individual who is incarcerated in any federal or state penal institution." —

How any congressman can, in good faith, reason that human ignorance fights crime or protects society is beyond belief.

Indeed, it can be said that ignorance is the mother of all crime.

But the ideologically-driven drivel that is the Crime Bill, this dark, political ticket for re-election, will bite the asses of Americans for generations to come.

It will drive public bankruptcy;

It will fuel greater violence;

It will create prisoners who are dumber, more alienated, but more desperate in life's scuffle for survival.

Consider this: the drugged out zombie about to rob you calculates the worth of stealing your property vs. 4 to 8 years in prison, if caught. factor in your property vs.life without parole, and your life, not your property, is devalued.

That swift and fatal calculation is being tallied hourly in cities from coast to coast, and the so-called "Crime Bill" just made it more costly— for you.

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Too Wealthy to Die: The "Juice" Factor

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

News Item: Prosecuters for the Los Angeles District Attorney's office announced recently that they would not seek the Death Penalty in the highly publicized case, People v. Simpson, where the ex-gridiron great is charged in the double murders of Simpson's ex-wife Nicole, and a friend of hers, Ronald Goldman.

If ever there was a case that illustrates who gets capital punishment and who doesn't, People v. Simpson is it.

Of the estimated 2800 men and women on U.S. Death Row, a relatively small percentage of them, perhaps less than 5%, are on Death Row for multiple homicides.

Furthermore, over a third of the people on Death Row, over 31%, had no prior felony convictionswhen they were put on Death Row, according to statistics from the U.S. Bureau of Justice Stats, Washington, D.C.

How then did Orenthal J. Simpson, of Buffalo Bills fame, escape the potential, if convicted, of being suffocated by the state in California's Gas Chamber?

What makes him different in the eyes of the "law"? (To be sure, the writer isn't suggesting O.J., or anyone else should be sentenced to death.) The critical difference —is wealth. A a black man charged with a blood double-homicide of two whites, O.. was certainly eligible. But he differe from the roughly 400 others o California's Death Row because of h remarkable financial resources– megabucks culled from a lifetime c pitching corporate products like the Hertz Car Rental Agency.

Simpson has already committed millions of dollars to his defense, garnering, arguably, the best defense team that money can buy.

Against the Shapiro-Cochran-Bailey-Dershowitz, et al. defense team, the L.A.'s D.A's office knows every action, every inaction, and every motion filed will be fought with rare vigor—something it doesn't have to contend with when the "defense" consists of a court-appointed, poorly paid, and poorly prepared lawyer.

In the book Equal Justice and the Death Penalty, legal scholars Baldus, Woodworth and Pulaski write, "After adjustment for all other legitimate case characteristics and the defendant's race, defendants with court appointed attorneys faced odds of receiving a death sentence that were 2.6 times higher than defandants with retained counsel." (Northeastern University Press—Boston, 1990).

Imagine if O.J. Simpson were O.J. Jackson, and instead of a millionare, was a washed-up ex-pro jock with no assets to speak of, with no "priors": Would the DA's office have hesitated one instant before demanding death?

The states decision to skip the Death Sentence in People v. Simpson is proof positive that money determines who lives and who dies in the biggest lottery game of them all—the criminal justice system's capital punishment scheme.

In a nutshell—"Them's that got the capital, don't get the punishment!"

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An Atmosphere of Fear

By Evan Daniel

In the 1980s, government supported the "War on Drugs," which continues today. The government war has been expanded to include a war on crime, youth and the poor in general. All of these domestic 'wars' are related in the sense that government and the mass media use misinformation and outright lies to create an atmosphere of fear among the general public. This climate facilitates the concentration of power and money in the hands of the few, and a tremendous loss of economic, civil and human rights for the many.

In the nineties, politicians must be "Tough on Crime." This wave of hysteria is nothing new to the American political scene. For example, during the Cold War, the enemy was communism at home and abroad.

It's a stance embraced by both Democrats and Republicans in yet another episode of their "first-hand" knowledge of public concerns via rampant media coverage and the polls.

Not only are these domestic policies flawed in their approach, they'll cost the state $33.5 billion, not counting the funds matched by state and local governments. Far beyond the economic costs however are the social costs.

After passage of the Clinton Crime Bill, Californians voted for Propositions 184 and 187 in the November election—the first a "three strikes" law and the second, "Save Our State," to deny public services to "illegal" immigrants, including children. Let us now examine the hype around crime and immigration.

These policies enable state, local, and federal politicians and government institutions to expand their power by militarizing the borders and criminalizing large segments of our state's population.

Photo Joseph Ryan

California Prop 187 will deny public services, like health care and education to migrant workers and their children.

Concurrently, the newspapers, radio, and especially television benefit tremendously from the manufacture of an atmosphere of fear.

This atmosphere of fear is actually intended to mask a more basic problem—the country is in a severe economic depression, and simply doesn't want to provide basio public services. "Policy makers and their media fans deflect attention from the more tangible problems of unemployment, social disparity, racism, sexism, and other institutionalized ills they are loath to tackle," according to Robert Perkinson's *Clinton's Politics of Punishment* article in the October 1994 issue of *Z* magazine.

During the thirties, the public was bombarded with news coverage proclaiming labor organizers to be communists controlled by Moscow. The allegation would later apply to writers, artists, and even the film industry in

Continued on page 17

Low Income Communities Reject Enterprise Zones

Continued from page 1

uation only an organized community can stop.

Nationwide, independent grassroots efforts in low-income communities from Oakland to Philadelphia fought a tide of cash-starved poverty pimps to bring the truth about the new federal Empowerment Zones before the public, while in California, with one-ninth of the U.S. population and 35 state-sanctioned enterprise zones, mass mobilizations generally ignored by the press held legislators to three new zones rushed through the closing days of the legislature in an undisguised display of favor-swapping and prearranged deals, traditionally called pork barrel politics.

Clinton Version of Reagan Program

"Empowerment Zones," the Clinton administration's version of the federal enterprise zone Ronald Reagan was never able to pass, offer tax credits of up to 20% of wages to workers who move into newly-designated zones and hire "qualified" unemployed zone residents. Cities have been fighting each other for the designation because six cities and four rural areas will get priority for $100 million of federal funding if they are chosen. Sixty "enterprise communities" with $3 million in federal funding will be offered to some of the runners-up.

African-American service workers in Philadelphia, already feeling the pain of the mayor's Five Year Financial Plan, turned out to oppose the city's enterprise zone application. "They sent away our jobs and put people on welfare," said a statement by the local Save Our Cities team. "Now they want people to work as cheap labor for no wages at all, while EZs and businesses get big breaks. People can't survive. That's slavery!"

"Abolition now!" was the bluntly stated goal of Save Our Cities teams from Sacramento, Stockton and the Bay Area who walked more than ten informational picket lines at California's state capitol in June and August, chanting "The job I had till yesterday, moved to a zone at half the pay."

Aaron Simon of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party spoke about enterprise zones using the following example: "Large corporations use EZs to move into low-income areas and the result is a new form of slavery. For instance, Packard-Bell was given five million dollars to move to Sacramento from Los Angeles."

Simon referred to the latest breaking zone proposal passed by the California state legislature, rearranging tax credits for companies at the former army depot in Sacramento to create at least $5 million in additional tax breaks for Packard-Bell Electronics, the nation's third largest and fastest-growing personal computer manufacturer. The $5 million figure, in addition to zone tax breaks, was calculated by Packard-Bell officials and State Senator Leroy Greene as the price of enticing the company to Sacramento. Earlier this year Packard-Bell had announced plans to move from its earthquake-shattered headquarters in Los Angeles, setting up a bidding war spanning three states and at least three California locales.

"The problem is," Simon continued, "they laid off 3,000 (LA) workers in the $15.00 an hour range. But, when those same jobs come to Sacramento's low-income community, they will pay only a fraction of the previous (LA) wages, and that's with no benefits.

"The corporate employers then ask the workers to work hard and in the future there may be pay raises. Well, it doesn't work that way. Due to the capitalist system we know it doesn't work that way."

Studies by the California Revenue and Taxation committee, the State Franchise Tax Board, the Congressional Budget Office, Purdue University and University of California, and the State Auditor General's office have not found any supporting pattern of rising wages or increase in jobs in any EZ. With the Sacramento/Packard-Bell enterprise zone, any future pay raises would have to be part of an entirely new policy, given the history of this business accommodation.

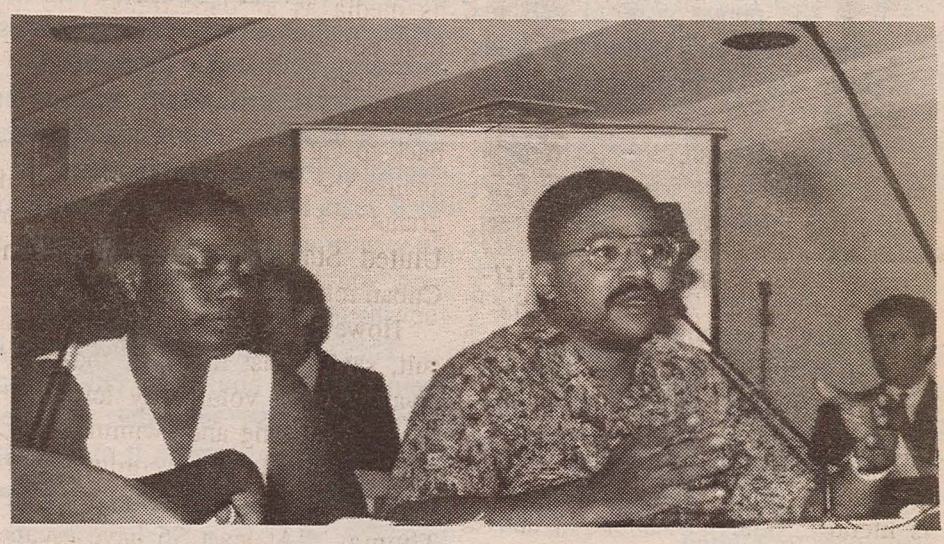

Photo by Bob Fong

Tiffany Hall, CCBPP representative, and Shelby Fermon, President of Sacramento Save Our Cities, testify against enterprise zones at the California Assembly Committee on Utilities & Commerce hearing on SB344 and SB1348.

CCBPP Testimony Stuns Legislators

"How many union jobs will you destroy with each new zone?" Hall pointedly asked Utilities and Commerce Chair Gwen Moore, a black assemblywoman from Los Angeles. "How many thousands of people will be forced on unemployment and public assistance and into poverty?" Moore, who casually ignored all previous testimony, but dropped her pencil in surprise when Hall introduced herself on behalf of CCBPP, hurried to offer that, "We hear what you're saying, and we are concerned," but Hall replied she wanted to see what the committee did. They passed the last two zone bills of the season unanimously, and hurried out of the room while testimony was still underway.

Enterprise zones, according to CCBPP representatives who joined the series of informational picket lines at California's state capitol over the summer, are "Designed to play on our desperation, with hopes of jobs, while in reality zones rape our communities of money, labor, and dignity. Instead of tax breaks to attract new businesses into depressed areas, offer those breaks to the small businessman already struggling in oppressed communities. Instead of offering cheap labor through workfare, temporary agencies, etc., endorse the hiring of full time, permanent workers on the grounds that stable jobs with adequate wages make stable communities."

"Budgets are being cut for health clinics, libraries, and (other) community services, while enterprise zone legislation is literally giving away the store," Priscilla Abbott, Sacramento Operations Manager for Western Service Workers Association, told

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Cuba: Education and Health Care

Continued from page 1

detained Cuban boat people, housing them on Coast Guard ships at sea and on the Guantanamo naval base on the island.

The U.S. government has been opposed to the Cuban revolution for the past 30 years and has used every possible means to destroy it, from direct military intervention with the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, to assassination attempts on Fidel Castro, to biological warfare aimed at ruining the island's economy

Given the hardships Cubans now endure, it is quite amazing that Cuba continues to excel in terms of the three indicators most commonly used to judge a people's standard of living: infant mortality, life expectancy, and literacy rates. Cubans, in fact, die at a rate of 10.2 per 1,000 live births, which is comparable to the U.S. average and far better than U.S. inner cities. Cuban life expectancy is 76 years and 98 percent of the population is literate. This puts Cuba far above other developing nations and on a par with advanced industrial countries.

Photo courtesy of Cleo Managa

Despite hardship, the children of Cuba are not robbing and murdering one another for a pair of name brand tennis shoes.

The current U.S. embargo against Cuba is only the tip of the iceberg. The U.S. has been cited in the World Court by Cuba for forcibly violating Cuban air space for nefarious reasons, with a CIA-funded radio station called Radio Marti. The U.S. says, "what could be wrong with beaming the old show, 'I Love Lucy' to Cuba?" Nothing, except the show depicts a Cuban refugee who comes to the U.S., becomes successful and marries a white woman, lives in a nice apartment, with white friends and neighbors and lives happily ever after. Every Cuban in Miami knows that's rare. The trick is for every Cuban in Cuba to believe it's commonplace.

Until this year, the U.S. government had a 28-year old policy of welcoming Cuban immigrants to the U.S. Most Cubans who chose to flee were light-skinned and hailed as "risking their lives for freedom," although the population of Cuba is primarily of African descent. Over the past 40 years Cuba has eliminated the institutionalized racism that was a major aspect of all the former regimes.

"Hard labor in Cuba is very different thing from hard labor in the United States. In Cuba, a job is not only a job, it also becomes the very center of communication."—Dr. Huey P. Newton.

Haitians, fleeing repression by their own government, found this policy discriminatory because Haitians have been interned, returned, and portrayed by the United States government and its media as a "dark threat" fleeing from poverty.

Cubans as of November were being repatriated, actually encouraged to go back to Cuba. In fact, a lawsuit filed against the U.S. by anti-Cuban immigrants in Miami, Florida, charged the United States with forcibly taking Cuban refugees back to Cuba.

However, the U.S. responded to the suit, saying that many of these runaway Cubans voluntarily left Guantanamo, walking and swimming back to their homeland. According to the U.S. spokesman there, Rick Thomas, "At least 56 have escaped from the camp and walked or swam home."

One of Cuba's main hopes for increasing export earnings is pharmaceuticals. Its biotechnology research, an industry set up several years ago with the help of the German Democratic Republic, leads the world in vaccines for cerebral meningitis and hepatitis-B, interferon for the treatment of AIDS and cancer, and a skin growth factor for burn victims. These are some of the products Cuba is selling overseas, mainly to Latin America, and are a major source of foreign exchange outside of depending on the sugar cane harvest.

In Washington, D.C. thousands of people from across the United States marched in mid-November in support of Cuba -- the protestors' central demand being that the U.S. government end its economic blockade of Cuba.

Marchers demanding normalization of relations beween the United States and Cuba, and the removal of U.S. troops from Guantanamo,chanted "¡Cuba si, bloqueo no!' and 'USA,CIA, out of Haiti and Cuba!' were recurring chants throughout the march."

The caravan of 200 of people, organized by Pastors for Peace, called the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan, included 60 trucks, buses and cars, carrying 150 tons of aid. The caravan set out to deliver medical aid to Cuba—in direct defiance of the blockade.

The U.S. recently sponsored a bill to add to the economic embargo against Cuba an embargo on medical supplies. The Torecelli bill has been roundly condemned by most members of the United Nations as a violation of their own national sovereignty. It attempts to restrict companies in other countries from trading with Cuba, no matter what the laws of those countries say. By international law, the embargo is an act of war against this tiny island nation.

At worst the U.S. will resolve to destroy Cuba militarily, economically, politically, and socially, as has been done with Russia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, etc. A quick look at the state of those countries shows that Cuba would not benefit from following that path.

We, in the spirit of the late Dr. Huey P. Newton, who gave the world the concept of Intercommunalism (the joining of poor and oppressed communities throughout the U.S. and the world) stand in solidarity with the people of Cuba and join them in their struggle against U.S. aggression and oppression. Join us! (See BPP 10-Point Program on page 18—point number eight.)

Special thanks to Global Exchange for contributing background information for this article.

Huey on Cuba

The following interview was taken from *Keep Strong* magazine, published by Keep Strong Publishing Company (March, 1978), after Huey's return from political exile in Cuba.

HUEY: When I arrived in Cuba, one of the difficulties of adjustment was that virtually for the first time in my life I wasn't being followed. It took a while for me to relax and drop my continual vigilance.

Q: You didn't meet Castro while you were in Cuba. Why not?

HUEY: I didn't ask to meet him and I guess he didn't ask to meet me, which is just fine. I think it's very impolite to go into someone's country and ask to meet their head of state. The question never came up really, but I think that after Robert Williams, Stokely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver all denounced Cuba, the government was somewhat apprehensive about giving too much exposure to the so-called North American revolutionaries.

Q: Did you feel welcome in Cuba?

HUEY: Yes. When I first got there, they gave me a grand tour of the provinces, showed me all the schools and universities, construction sites, clinics, dams, and coffee and sugar production. They offered me a job as a university teacher, but I preferred to work in a cement factory.

Q: Why?

HUEY: Primarily to enhance my own understanding of the people. It was essentially a very good experience. Hard labor in Cuba is a very different thing from hard labor in the United States. In Cuba, a job is not only a job; it also becomes the very center of communication. We ended up spending weekends at the beach with our co-workers, who were like an extended family. When our toilet broke down, for example,

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Independent Grocers Association

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AIDS and the Poor

by Michelle Uribe

There has clearly been a rise in HIV/AIDS among people of color, typically within poor and oppressed communities. This has occurred for many reasons, the most prominent are the underlying economic factors. Many individuals—African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans—do not trust government-run, conventional medicine. In the past they have delivered poor care, after long delays, when it is available at all. The competition among providers for necessary funds usually stifles the main objective of community organizations. Funding is often allocated by state and federal governments for specific purposes. These "purposes" are not necessarily pertinent to the priorities of actual patients nor to the local agencies attempting to meet their needs. Thus a system with centralized funds becomes problematic.

As early as 1982, plenty of statistics existed to show the disproportionately critical problem AIDS posed for people of low socioeconomic status. In September 1992, African-Americans made up 12% of the nation's population and accounted for 30% of all AIDS cases, while Latinos constituted 9% of the population and accounted

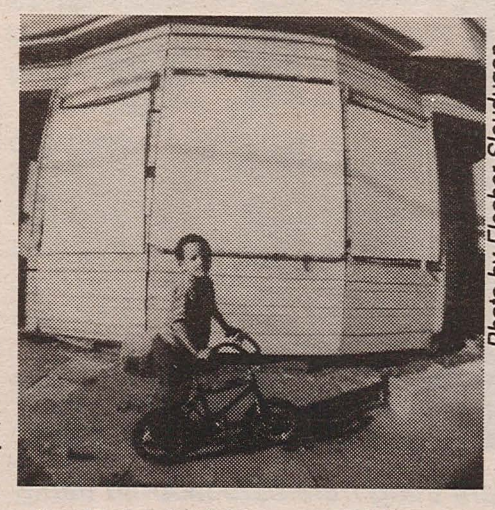

Photo by Flecher Sleudugon

for 17% of AIDS cases. This means that by 1992 African-Americans and Latinos made up 46% of reported U.S. AIDS cases. (National Commission on AIDS, Positively Aware 1993)

Point Six of the Black Panther Ten-Point program states: "We want completely free health care for all Black and oppressed people. We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities that will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about because of our oppression, but will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care."

A Graphic Example

The history of AIDS treatment in low-income and minority communities provides a graphic example of how badly this program is still needed.

Access has become a fundamental issue in trying to rid our communities of this disease. "A normal life-span for a man with HIV is four to five years. For women of color six months is not uncommon," states Kathy Labriola, a nurse and counselor for HIV patients, "this is a flagrant example of inaccessibility." When women are the breadwinners, their own health is repeatedly ignored; education certainly does not come to them. If they are monogamous, women simply don't see themselves at risk; in fact, 80% of African-American women believe they are not at risk for HIV, according to the Black Coalition on AIDS (BCA).

Yet for women of color the main route of transmission is heterosexual intercourse. It is not difficult to correlate single-income households, unemployment, and illiteracy with decreased access to health education, health care, and ultimately low health

Photo by Flecher Sleudugon

prospects and increased risk of disease. As a result, diagnosis and a life threatening disease too often occur simultaneously. These conditions, in addition to high rates of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and increased IV drug use, the primary route of transmission for people of color in general, have resulted in what is now an epidemic.

Epidemic In African-American Communities

"AIDS and STDs are at epidemic levels in African-American communities," says Al Cunningham of the Black Coalition on AIDS (BCA). "Alameda County has become second to New York in the spread of this disease and Congressman Ron Dellums has done nothing in response to this problem." Currently, white communities have experienced a 20% decline in HIV/AIDS, while African-American communities have experienced a 165% increase, according to the BCA.

In the population of 42,000 Native Americans residing in the greater Bay Area, 7.2% are HIV positive, which is 4% of the national Native population, according to the Native American Health Center. On reservations, the number of HIV positive cases continues to grow. All this while the federal government pushes Norplant and Depo-Provera on Native American women as two "safe" methods of contraception. These are, according to National Latina Health Organization, two powerful contraceptives that induce horrendous side effects (dizziness, irregular bleeding, nausea), achieve long-term sterility (sometimes permanent), and do nothing to prevent AIDS! Among Asian-Americans, AIDS cases have doubled every ten months. This phenomenon has taken place over the last couple of years (NAWHO; AIDS and Activism).

Governnment Programs' Scarred History

African-Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, and other target groups have long, terribly scarred histories with government programs. Any program purporting to reach these people must clearly separate itself from this history, from reliance on government policy, and finally develop its own base in the community. HIV/AIDS facilities operating in their respective communities are able to recognize and understand the unique needs of the people in those communities.

According to California HIV/AIDS Update, "Overall, agencies were more likely to receive funding from the state. However, Latino agencies were significantly more likely to indicate that they receive federal funding than non-Latino agencies...Both Latino and non-Latino agencies rated funding cuts and lack of recognition of HIV/AIDS within the Latino community as a Latino problem as their two biggest obstacles."

Federal Programs Fail by Designn

The "lack of recognition of HIV/AIDS within the Latino community" means that preventative education programs should have a high priority. But federal funds require using federal guidelines, and efforts like the

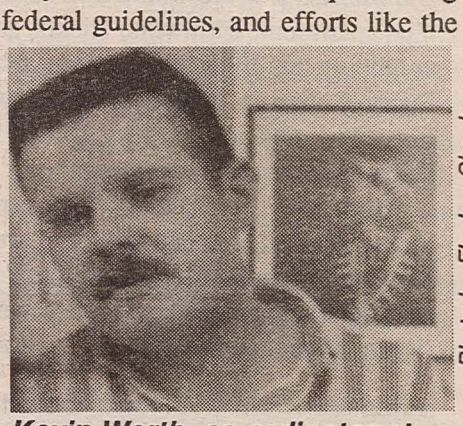

Photo by Flecher Sleudugon

Kevin Worth, co-ordinator at San Francisco Native American Heath Center

federal government's "America Responds to AIDS" education program. According to the National Commission on AIDS, it is a program that, "has generally been ineffective in

Continued on next page

AMASSI

INC.

AMASSI, a non-profit philanthropic and educational corporation committed to the provision of culturally and socially relevant health care and information, was formed in 1989.

Our focus is to provide for the affirmation, advocacy, empowerment, health and wellness of diverse cultural and sexual groups.

Our primary concern, however, has been assisting African-Americans and high-risk groups with the AIDS/HIV epidemic. **AMASSI** services are provided free of charge. No one in need is turned away.

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OAKLAND, CA 94609
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AIDS Camps in Cuba; Pure Anti-Cuba Propaganda

The following article was written by Cleo Managa who recently returned from Cuba with Global Exchange, a nonprofit organization that is calling for the United States to lift its economic blockade against the small socialist country.

Cuba is nurtured by a cooperative communal culture that cherishes its youth, loves and respects its elders. The population of Cuba is primarily people of African descent, and mulattos, mixed of African and Latin background. Most Cubans refer to themselves as Afro-Cubanos. Cuba's strong connection to Africa is celebrated and embraced. This acknowledgment seems to affirm the African people and evokes a self-knowing and comfort all too unfamiliar to "Americans."

The island is tropical, surrounded by alluring light blue waters, decorated by glowing sands and its stunning native people. All Cubans, regardless of gender, complexion, sexual preference, age, etc., have free and equal access to high quality education, health care and services. A noticeable sign of the quality of health is that everyone, the young, middle aged, and the old, all have beautiful, healthy teeth.

AIDS, which is frequently associated with homosexuality in "America" is presented as a problem equally dangerous to all Cubans regardless of sexual expression. The widely reported rumors and articles on AIDS concentration camps in Cuba are out of context and pure anti-Cuba propaganda.

I visited Cuba's largest AIDS sanitorium and was awestruck by the humane, considerate, intuitive and life-affirming approach to care taken by this center. The sanitorium was similar to a large housing complex where all who chose to live there had 24-hour health care, the option of having family members, even a dog or a cat stay with them. Same gender loving and heterosexual couples living together at the complex is a common occurrence.

I asked people living there about the conditions in which they live. None were happy about having HIV or AIDS but all were very appreciative of the care they received. Many who could go home if they wanted chose to stay where they were guaranteed prepared food, a comfortable home and prompt medical attention. This particular center offered ambulatory care for those with jobs or who wanted to continue with school. To my knowledge there is nothing similar in the U.S.A. The main problem people with AIDS faced was the difficulty in getting the medicines and treatments (Pentamidine, Bactrim, condoms, etc.) needed from other countries because of the U.S.A. blockade on Cuba.

(Material provided by Cleo Managa)

AIDS and the Poor

Continued from page 12

reaching communities of color. Furthermore, the information is often vague and targeted towards any anonymous general public." Simply put, most of these programs fail by design and are a direct consequence of mismanaged funds.

Such is the case with "Target Cities," an 11 million dollar grant over a period of five years, made deceptively available by the federal government to put towards drug abuse education programs. The federal government offered the money only to cities that would go along with the idea of "managed care"—standardized tests, monitoring of patients, an accountant's eye on whether treatments worked cost-effectively, etc.—and applied it to the community health programs now providing care for addicts who are the most difficult group to reach, and to low-income mothers, and AIDS patients. In other words, Target Cities is another euphemism for managed care. It is designed to centralize and bring about federal control of funding for urgently needed health services in San Francisco's low-income communities.

Minimal Funds to Direct Services

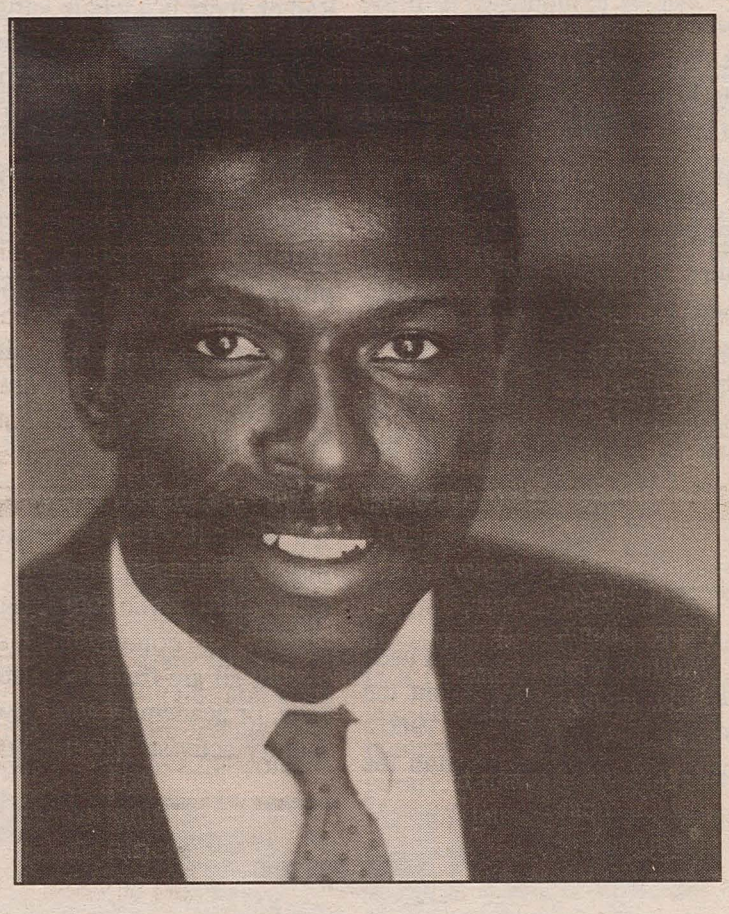
This is just another trickle-down, supply side economics approach that never trickles, but allows business and city officials to rip-off the taxpayers' dollars. This is occurring throughout the nation's minority, low-income communities. "It's basically technical bullshit," says Paul Boden of the Coalition on Homelessness. "Only a fraction of the funds ($500,000) will actually go to direct services—treatment clinics, homeless organizations, social service agencies, treatment centers—and community-based agencies will be left to compete for a menial portion of the grant. The rest of the 11 million dollars will be put towards 'coordinating services' and creating an 'intake system.'"

Much of the money will never meet its intended goal of providing basic treatment to low-income people with drug addictions, let alone indirectly impacting the spread of HIV/AIDS. When federal funds are made available, as in Target Cities, a majority of the funds go to monitoring and regulation. In essence, Target Cities is an 11 million dollar grant for academics and professionals. "City (San Francisco) official Wayne Clark is a perfect example of a 'professional' who has benefited greatly from the grant process. He has built an administrative empire with city funds," states Paul Boden, "while the actual city (community-based organizations) squabble over $500,000."

Within the current system, the possibility of preventing and ultimately eradicating AIDS cannot occur. The government stranglehold on funds and its possible uses stifle steps desperately needed to educate groups that are at risk. In the final analysis, this epidemic can only be eliminated if poor people are given the means to economically better themselves, and under such a scenario the poor, those with little to no funds and the organizations that service them, will suffer lack of access to needed care. Yet no government program or grant takes on the obvious critical issues of poverty. In the face of this inability or unwillingness to act by our own government, we call on all health care providers to the poor and oppressed communities nationwide to join us in our New War Against Poverty.

Fare Well, Sweet Prince...

We will never forget or neglect the blessings you shared so generously: courage in the struggle, faith in the people, love for humanity.



William J. "Brandy" Moore

March 4, 1945 to October 14, 1994

Founder,
African American Men's Caucus,
SF Black Coalition on AIDS,
Rafiki House and Rafiki Services Project,
Lesbians and Gays of African Descent for Democratic Action (LGADDA).

S.F. BLACK COALITION ON AIDS
BCA
ADVOCACY • EMPOWERMENT

Book Review: SHADOW

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repeats the estimate that there were sixty-four FBI agents planted in the Party. (Other estimates range as high as twice that much, and the Panther agent totals just scratch the surface:

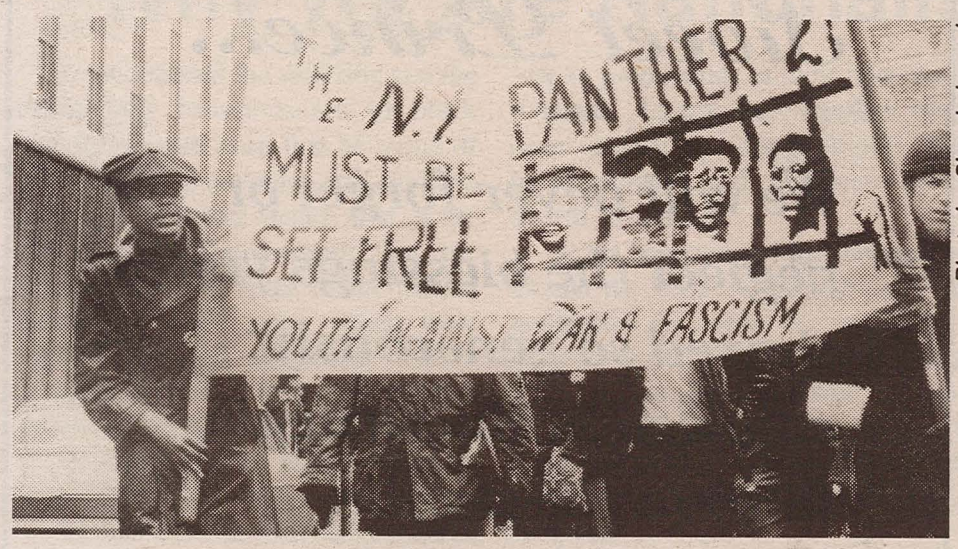

Photo by Skou Lebeaud

for example, according to the New York Times, the FBI had 316 informers between 1960 and 1976 in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance alone). He just seems to have chosen his memos very selectively.

The danger in ignoring these COINTELPRO documents is that one could miss the concerted effort the FBI made to spread disinformation about activist groups like the Black Panthers.

As we saw in news about Nicaragua in the 1980s, and in the Persian Gulf War more recently, government sources can easily get almost anything printed... especially with the aid of people like "the friendly writer of the NYC newspaper" and "the friendly newspaper" who the FBI used to spread damaging stories about the Socialist Workers Party in the 1960s. These things then propagate through the media until the original source is lost and they appear as fact.None of this bothers Pearson because he believes the mainstream press and trusts the police, an attitude which we at the *Commemorator* find utterly lacking in credibility. But that's the official doctrine in this country. And this is why these stories about groups like the Black Panthers get into the press in the first place: reporters like Pearson, who has recently taken a job with the Wall Street Journal, where he will become a true cog in the system.

And why should Pearson not have used the mainstream press as practically his sole source for his book? Most readers of this paper already understand the pro-*status quo* bias of the press; that's why you sought out this newspaper in the first place. But for our readers who have more trust in our nation's institutions, as I probably still do, a little background on the press may be helpful.

You don't have to postulate that the press is run by the CIA to believe that it falls in with the government line. Rather, there is a whole variety of factors that make the press the pathetic tool of the ruling elite who control government policy. Newspapers are owned by big businesses. Their primary income is not subscribers; their primary income comes from advertisement. So they are selling their product to other big businesses that advertise.

Furthermore, reporters trust implicitly anything said by a member of the government or big business, despite massive evidence of any of their lies and distortions in the past. It's assumed that such behavior is just that—in the past. Indeed, studies of the "experts" who are brought on television for commentary show that almost all are from government, business, or academia. Very few are community activists or, God forbid, ordinary working people.

Photo by Skou Lebeaud

There's a much more complete description of this process in books like Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's *Manufacturing Consent.* Essentially, the result of this press and other pressures is an intellectual culture that favors the interests of the rich people who run it. In this culture, a man like Pearson can grow up reading false reports about the Black Panthers in the newspapers, believing them, and completing the cycle by becoming a reporter himself and propagating similar reports.

We see this system in action all the time. It explains the way the print media and television lavishly praised the government during the Persian

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Why They Are Still Killing Huey P. Newton

Hardly a month has passed since the murder of Dr. Huey P. Newton, 1989 on the streets of West Oakland, without a new knife in the back of Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party.

It is a knife in the back, because Huey is dead and can no longer defend himself. The Party was destroyed and no longer can challenge these attackers.

So let no one who attacks the life of Huey P. Newton and the works of the BPP put forth that they have done something bold or courageous. On the contrary they are cowards, timid little "poot-butts" (as they would have been called back in those days) backstabbing ghouls, parasites, vultures, hyenas who circle around and (because they are too lazy to work and too scared to steal) wait for something bigger and better than they are to fall and die, so they can feed on it.

As long as Huey showed any signs of life, as long as the man stirred, these creatures kept their distance. Even though his organization, for all intents and purposes was destroyed, like cowardly vultures they kept their distance, waiting until no life was left, watching as the braver of them ventured forth to feed on Huey's remains.

What is even more ominous though is the goals of the people who use these hapless creatures, the people who employ these unprincipled mercenaries, their publishers, backers, trainers, masters, and benefactors.

(For those readers who have not heard Hugh Pearson's knife to Huey, his vicious kick to the ribs of a man already down, has earned him a step up in the literary world. Recently he was offered by a job by some of the financial community's big guns, the publishers of the *Wall Street Journal.* He has proven his loyalty to the bossman, so now he gets a job in the house. Another handkerchief-headed field nigger graduates to house nigger by stepping on his own people to get there.)

They have enslaved us for centuries by taking away our heroes, and role models, that grew up out of our struggles. They shamed the names of true leaders and gave us their heroes instead. They would have us forsake Huey and follow Hugh. They would have us forsake Garvey and follow Carver. They would have us forsake the King of '68 and replace him with King of '63. They would have us follow Malcolm of the '50s vs. Malcolm of '64.

International capital, those who feared Huey the most, those who stood to lose the most, had the BPP achieved its stated goals—like Wesley and Addison Publishers, with offices from Germany to Italy, to S. Korea and the Wall Street boys, who publish the Wall Street Journal—are Pearson's benefactors, his backers. The people, poor, hungry, ragged and angry were Huey's.

Why are they still killing Huey? Because they make the mistake of assuming that by killing Huey they would kill the legacy of the Black Panther Party, by besmirching Huey's name, they would besmirch the name of the Black Panther Party. This is a mistake, because to truly prevent the re-emergence of the Black Panther Party and like sentiments, one would have to end the conditions, the fertile ground from which the sentiments of a Black Panther Party, and the likes of Huey P. Newton grow.

Marlon Brando, in a movie of the '60s called *Burn* which depicted a revolution of slaves on a Portuguese run island in the Antilles, warned his British imperialist employers to not kill the character, José Delores who plays a black revolutionary, because " If you kill a man," said Brando, "He becomes a myth, then it is much harder to kill a myth than a man." Brando, in the movie directs the captors to offer José Delores a bribe and tell his people he sold them out for money. This he offered as the true way to destroy a man and a movement.

Clearly, this is the goal of the anti-Huey campaign. To not only destroy the man, but to destroy what he stood for in the minds of the people. The destruction of Huey P. Newton and the legacy of the Black Panther Party will not be complete until the detractors and their hirelings make the very name Black Panther and Huey Newton, repugnant to the very people the party fought for.

We will not allow that to happen.

Huey Newton wrote a book called *To Die for the People*, Hugh Pearson wrote a book called The *Shadow of the Panther*, where he neither speaks of dying for his people or living for them.

Huey offered insight into the unique position of the oppression black and oppressed people in America suffer. Hugh Pearson attempts to take Huey and the party from us and offers absolutely nothing in its place. The difference between the two men are phenomenal. One offers us hope; the other works to destroy that hope and offers us nothing in return.

Charlie Dee's
cocktail lounge

10810 Bancroft Ave.
(510) 562-9127 **Oakland, CA 94603**

Enterprise Zones Opposed

Continued from page 10

state legislators.

But, this combined $31 million tax exemption was not enough of an incentive to persuade Packard-Bell.

On taking over a former U.S. army depot, Sacramento's EZ offered Packard-Bell a clear field to keep wages below "the average wage rate of $15.43 an hour." (Chicago Tribune, R.C. Longworth, 10/94.) To do this the federal government had to be isolated, cut out of the business-legal loop. Shelby Fermon of Save Our Cities, based in Sacramento, summarizing the process stated, "The reason EZs are put in by the state versus the federal government, is because the federal government would have to contractually require the company to pay union scale wages. In this way, the feds act as a landlord giving away property to a private company.

But, since the Sacramento EZ give backs were negotiated by a state-county-city alliance, Packard-Bell got its wage cuts from $15.00 to $9.90 per hour, without benefits. When asked about this wage difference, California Assemblyman Darryl Steinbeck said, "The cost of living is higher in LA." That LA's cost of living is 33 per cent higher than Sacramento's, the difference between $15 and $10 an hour, is a surprising assertion. Assemblyman Steinbeck must have meant to compare the cost of living in "Beverly Hills, 90210" with Sacramento's cost of living.

No New Jobs Created

Sacramento's enterprise zone agreement with Packard-Bell is not unusual, it is an example of a nationwide, business trend EZs are sold nationwide as a government-business coalition that creates jobs. But in the Sacramento/Packard-Bell EZ it meant only moving 3,000 jobs from LA to Sacramento. Not a single new job was created.

As far back as 1992, Barbara McConnell, the head of the New Jersey Department of Commerce and Economic Development said, "We're seeing more and more companies during these tough economic times looking to locate in areas that can offer them the most incentives."

In the area around one New Jersey EZ a loss of 6,000 jobs has been documented. This has been widely cited as evidence that EZs simply move existing jobs to a new area to obtain cheaper labor and tax subsidies.

"They're trying to set up a system where if you don't accept this minimum wage with no benefits, then you will not be working," added Fermon of Sacramento Save Our Cities. "If you have a family, you got to do something to provide for them. And when you got kids hungry you're easily tempted to cross the line of the law. Now once you get caught in that prison system, that same corporation that squeezed your community out of its living wages and benefits now makes you off as a prisoner required to do labor for free."

To date, the corporate history of EZs has been to pursue the dual goals of the lowest possible taxes, and the lowest possible wages. Zones encourage corporate relocations from middle-lower income areas to long-standing poor, or newly bankrupt areas—Sacramento—where the closing of a military base posed the threat of an intensified local depression.

Three Month Turnover

The Sacramento Housing and Rehabilitation Agency, which already supervises the employment of low-income workers in two different EZs, concedes that two-thirds of the newly employed, low-income workers placed in jobs were unemployed again within three months. This three-month turnover, from employment to unemployment, is a part of the logic of EZs—businesses, as with the Packard-Bell EZ in Sacramento, abandon middle-lower employees and areas, and hire the long-standing poor at reduced wages. After three or more months of unemployment, the once middle-lower wage workers begin to accept the new EZ-reduced wages. When this happens, the newly employed EZ poor once again, within three months or so, find themselves unemployed.

Within less than a year, the poor area that was to benefit from the government-business EZ accommodations, becomes the site for a business that employs, for the most part, workers commuting to the EZ employers and Packard-Bell. When will you move to Mexico's $4.00 a day (North American Free Trade Agreement) labor market, or to the Philippines 5 cents an hour (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade) labor market?

Enterprise Zones are just a new name for the same old agenda, according to Simon of the CCBPP.

What started back in 1949 as Urban Renewal, by 1964 was called the Community Action Program, then in 1966 called Model Cities. In 1977 it was Urban Development Action Grant. By the 1980s it was enterprise zones, and in 1993 it was repackaged as empowerment zones. All operate on the same principle of trickle-down economics.

Continued on page 19

Photo by Bob Fong

Queen Esther Johnson, chair of the Sacramento Workers Benefit Council, heads up a delegation of senior citizens in a fight for living-wage jobs—and against EZs—on behalf of Sacramento's low income community.

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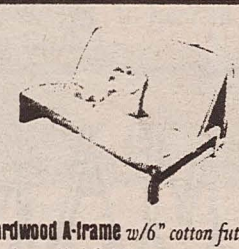

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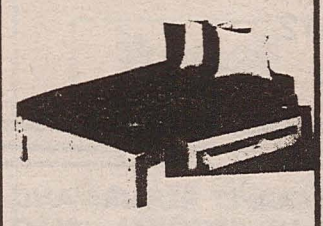

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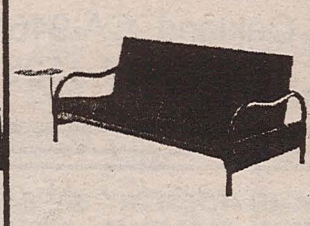

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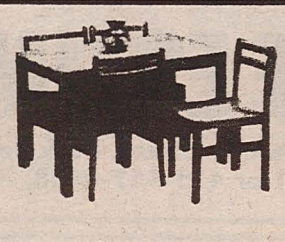

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Book Review: SHADOW

Continued from page 14

Gulf War, swallowing whole justifications of the war, and claims, later shown to be false, about the glorious effectiveness of the Patriot missile. We see it in reporting on the economy that looks favorably upon "downsizing" and thinks it's good when the Dow Jones average rises on reports of job losses. We saw it in the 1980's with a news blackout on incredible atrocities and massacres on the part of the U.S.-sponsored regime in El Salvador, and on sympathetic reports about the Nicaraguan Contras.

And, sadly, a cycle of increasing distance from reality arises as reporters use other reporters as primary sources. They don't have time to check every fact. So any source that seems professional, like a Washington insider, can lie through its teeth and be believed. A friend of mine discovered the ease with which disinformation can be spread when he typed out a completely untrue article about a certain well-known rock band in the style of the *New York Times*, wrote a fake date of publication on top, and posted Xeroxes of it around Berkeley. Not only has this article found its way up and down the West Coast, but newspapers have started to quote the article as fact. Any reporter could easily check the issue of the New York Times in question and find that the article did not actually exist. Few have bothered to do so.

Once something appears in, say, a magazine, other reporters will quote that magazine, distorting it even further, like in a grand game of Telephone. This is the trap Pearson falls into when he relies so heavily on newspapers for his sources, instead of going to actual people who were involved in the situations in question. Now Pearson is taking his place in the cycle of distortion. The review of his book in the *East Bay Express* paraphrases Pearson's ideas and speculations as if the reviewer knew them to be cold, hard truth from personal experience. It is a thoroughly damning account that reporters will no doubt use as a primary source in years to come. And it adds in gratuitous distortions, for example, in the Panthers' boycott of the giant Cal-Pak association of black-owned beverage businesses. Now, I was not personally present at this boycott, but a reputable source who was there tells me the goal was to convince Cal-Pak to make regular donations to the Panthers instead of a one-time gift. Pearson has his usual gloss on the situation, thanks no doubt to his only sources being major newspapers and the aforementioned Tom Nash. The *Express* is more extreme. The boycott comes across as a Mafia-style shakedown of what the reviewer calls an "organization of local black liquor-store and nightclub owners", despite the fact that Pearson does state that it was a statewide group.

We see an interesting phenomenon in the lies, distortions, and selective reporting, however, after the situation in question is over. Once the danger of the truth being told is gone, after a suitable amount of time has passed, the truth can be reported. We see it on page B15 of Pearson's book, about recent revelations that government sources may have accidentally misstated facts, that Oliver North might have failed to report allegations of drug trafficking among the Contras, that hundreds of El Salvadorians were massacred by government troops while trying to flee the country. The government effort to hide the truth can stop after a certain point, when no ill effects can occur if the long-hidden truth should happen to be discovered.

Twenty years after the fact, one might expect enough time had passed after the peak of the Black Panther party for a more sympathetic, nostalgic view. But something unusual is happening—we still see the media attacking the Black Panthers! We see the powers-that-be selecting and promoting certain ideas of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X.

Clearly, then, the "danger" of black activism has not passed. The government still fears the ideas that came up then, ideas which have not been fully

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Huey on Cuba

Continued from page 11

I immediately went into a panic. I asked my wife, "Who do we call? Where is the central agency? What do we do?" When we explained our problem to the people who shared our apartment building, they told us to report the problem to our fellow workers. I did, and some of the workers who knew about plumbing came out and repaired the toilet. I asked if I should pay. They said, "No, but when something breaks down in our home we would like you to help us." I had undergone the collective experience.

Q: Do you think that the reason this could not work here is because of our form of government, or because Americans have a history of isolating themselves from each other?

HUEY: Both interact to the point of being inseparable. If you create an environment where people are taught that they must supersede others in order to be happy, that will naturally breed mutual alienation. If you create an environment where people depend on each other, an environment where you promote cooperation rather than competition, then people will behave in a different way.

Q: But there are managers or "bosses" in Cuba, too.

HUEY: Yes, but the chief function of these managers is to do the administrative work. If changes are made on the job, it's done only with the consent of the workers.

Q: Is there a disparity in income between manager and worker?

HUEY: There is a difference in pay scales, but the difference isn't great: the lowest pay is 120 pesos a month, the highest is 400. Fidel gets 400. The average is roughly 250. I earned about 220.

Q: Are those who earn 150 a month envious of those who earn 250?

HUEY: Well, each job provides a school; the worker can go to school for two hours, three days a week, and promote himself in his job area. There is some competition, obviously, but it's not like it is here. The framework of the competition is friendlier. First of all, everyone is able to get his basic food. For a family of four you spend about 27 pesos a month. Rationing limits the extent of competition. I liked Cuba. You don't have the developed sense of community here. It's hard to communicate the reasons why the Cuban people can feel so much joy in long hours of work with so little pay.

Q: Why did you choose to live in Cuba rather than in China?

HUEY: The Chinese culture is too different. I didn't feel at home when I visited China, although I appreciated what they share together. I appreciated the socialist state.

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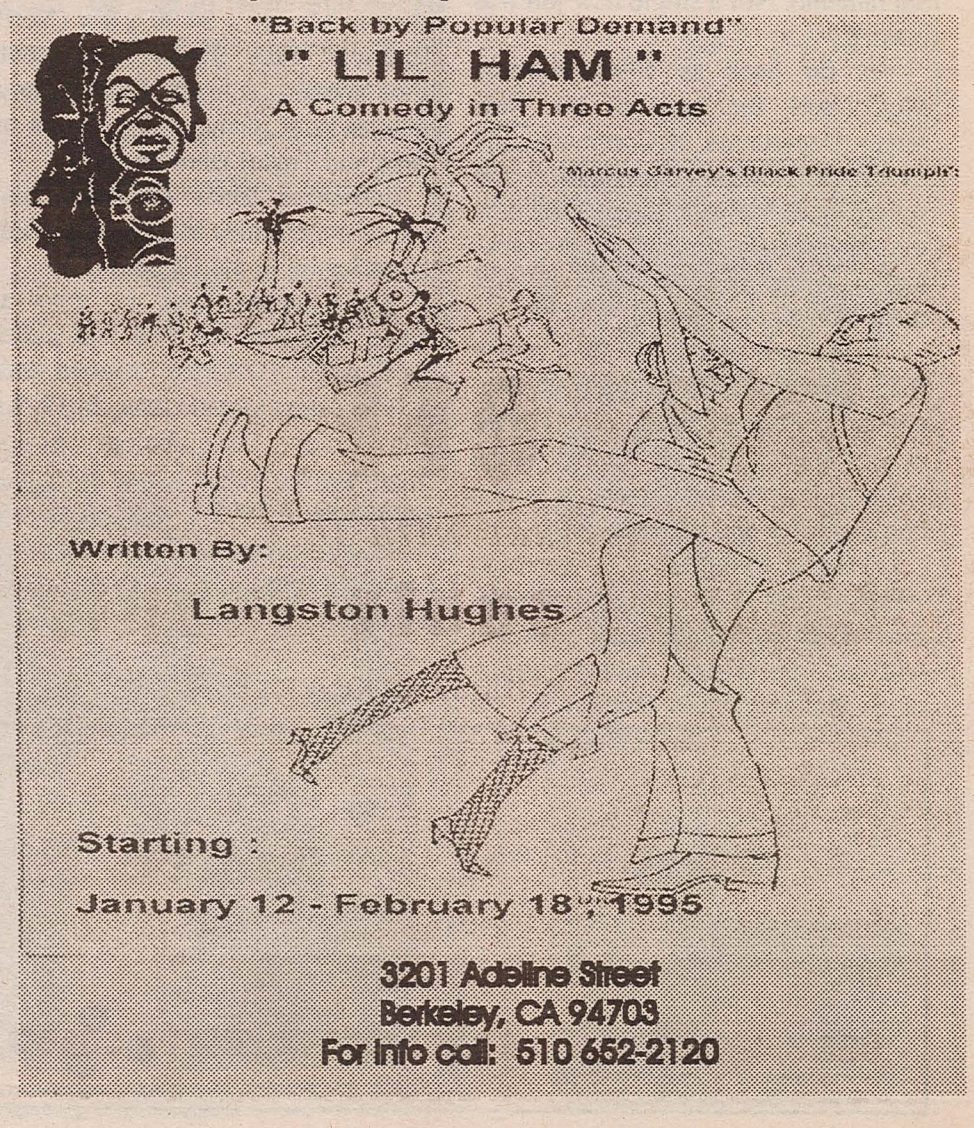


Atmosphere of Fear

Continued from page 10

the fifties. When the civil rights movement of the sixties was at its peak, civil rights activists, war protesters, and others involved in people's movements including the Black Panther Party were also red-baited.

Then the late eighties introduced us to the travesty of "Zero Tolerance" where over-zealous police departments put thousands behind bars and eagerly impounded and confiscated people's personal property, and law enforcement czars on television and in the schools urged kids to turn in their relatives if they were drug users.

When Polly Klaas was murdered, various citizens groups latched onto the issue of crime, and were launched into state and national prominence. Politicians soon adopted the "Get Tough" platform, viewing it as a quick means to gain recognition—some actually seized the moment to speak out at this young girl's funeral, getting free air time, saving funds from their election war chests—and more importantly, votes in the upcoming elections. The crime facing the U.S. is very real, but as is the case with the "problems of immigration" we are only getting part of the story.

There are numerous commercial interests and institutions that have an enormous stake—whether it's dollars, polls, or ratings—in the maintenance of an atmosphere of fear.

The most obvious examples are the various forms of oppression against working people and people of color, such as these crime laws. The federal crime bill for example devoted over 70% of its funds to "increased police budgets, prison construction, and administration and court prosecutor costs." (Perkinson p. 13)

However, the police and politicians aren't alone in this oppression (they never are). There is a fundamental requirement that various business interests who support the politicians, and for whom the police work, also use their influence and control of the mass media to perpetuate this climate of fear that is proving to be so profitable. In the final analysis, if prisons really worked, California wouldn't have to be constantly building more of them.

The real reasons for increasing prison constuction, and in turn prison populations, are much more devious. They are the latest example of neo-fascist policies being proposed and implemented by the government at all levels—local, state, and federal—for the benefit of big businesses.

The prison-incarceration complex is now the largest employer in that state, and the prison guard union is now one of the state's largest. The Prison Guards Union, along with the Fraternal Order of Police and other peace officers' organizations, has lobbied hard for "Three Strikes" and the passage of the Clinton Crime program. Promoted as a means to make our streets safe, the federal crime program is a $9.7 billion grant (give-away) for prison construction. In conjunction with the "Three Strikes" measure to ensure a rapidly growing prison population, this kind of circular reasoning perpetuates a system where prisons are constantly being built to accommodate more "violent" criminals.

However, many offenders serving time for "Three Strikes" legislation are facing 25 years to life for non-violent offenses. In fact, most inmates currently in U.S. prisons are there either for drug related offenses, crimes relating to poverty, or both. Just as the Drug War created a growing prison population (primarily of African-American and Hispanic males), and perpetuated the need for a growing prison industry, the "War on Crime" means more of the same.

Moreover "while urban teenagers, especially youth of color, are the only group to actually have suffered an increase in violent crime," according to Perkinson p. 12-13, no anti-crime legislation or initiative has addressed their needs such as education and job opportunities, or even made an attempt at including youth in any part of the policy or decision-making process.

This phenomenon doesn't only apply to our youth but is indicative of most people's relationship to the government—a government that makes decisions that impact our day-to-day lives, indeed the lives of millions, but to which we have little (if any) input or access.

As we are rapidly discovering, these laws are responsible for creating a vicious cycle where police agencies are encouraged to bust as many people as possible through quota systems and civil asset forfeiture laws where suspected drug dealers' personal property is confiscated, including cars and homes. The property is subsequently auctioned, and the proceeds go to benefit your local police department.

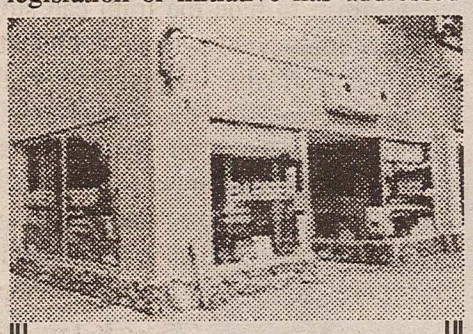
Not only are our personal rights being violated, but in many urban American streets this open season on "criminals" (usually the neighborhood residents) is played out in countless instances of police brutality toward people never convicted, or in some cases even charged with a crime, never receiving the media attention or recognition by the mainstream society.

Instances that will undoubtedly increase as the Clinton program pro vides $1.2 billion more for border patrol and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents, "hastened deportation of immigrants convicted of a crime, and increased investigative authority over 'suspected foreign terrorists.'" Additionally, "There have been no provisions to alleviate racial bias in current sentencing laws, court procedures, or police conduct." (Perkinson p. 14)

In conjunction with "mandatory minimum" sentences for drug offenders, the federal crime bill "requires states to increase the severity of their sentencing policies before they can become eligible for 50 percent of the federal funds provided under the act." (Perkinson p. 13) In such an atmosphere some departments, in addition to their institutional biases, become outright corrupt.

In Orange County, California, an elected official was busted for running a drug lab in conjunction with some members of the local police department. The drugs were being used by the police department to plant on people and set them up for drug charges. This resulted in individuals being sent to jail, and unknown dollars in personal property being looted by the police department. In fact some 300 people have served time in this horrendous caper!

Continued Next Issue!



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The True Nature of Huey P. Newton

By Rev. Tom Sanders

One of the most disturbing persons who ever walked the streets of America is no more. His voice and the vision that sustained the faith and hope of the most oppressed of his fellow citizens is gone forever. Like the Hebrew prophets of old he felt the forlornness and sadness of his people fiercely, for God had thrust a burden upon his soul.

He spoke of violence and death, of the symbols of his fellow humans' broken faith with themselves: South African concentration camps, firing squads, Nazi crematorium, American police brutality, burning crosses and the KKK, starving children.

Huey P. Newton shouted for all the world to hear that white America had betrayed the human spirit and that of all acts this was the most treasonable. Like Jeremiah he was shut up in prison to silence him and he spent the rest of his life struggling to survive and still oppose an unjust system, although beaten down by the system's guardians and by life itself.

His enemies called him a gangster and a thug since they did not understand that justice dies when dehumanized, no matter how exactly it may be exercised. The logic for justice may seem impersonal but, for Huey his concern for justice was an act of love. He and his Black Panthers knew that nothing founded upon fear and hate could be permanent, that only love offered a durable foundation. Therefore, they began their breakfast programs for children and other projects to help the poor.

The problems they faced were almost insurmountable. Not only were they opposed by the white establishment but, by their own people. The ghetto is the equivalent of the Indian reservation and just as the people of that reservation were debauched with whiskey sold by white men, so the people of the other are ravaged by drugs brought in by white drug syndicates. And that was not all. The spirit of the people was broken. Their attitude toward themselves was expressed well in a poem entitled *Beauty*, written by a seventeen-year-old black girl:

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CCBPP STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) is committed to the goals of the Black Panther Party (BPP) as outlined in its Ten Point Program which was written in 1966 by the Black Panther Party founders, Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

The Ten Point Program outlined the goals and objectives toward changing conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression in all low-income and working communities of the U.S. and elsewhere, as the basis for unity and solidarity.

Also, the CCBPP is committed to the concept of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, introduced by Dr. Newton in 1970 at Boston College. Revolutionary Intercommunalism holds that there are basically two sides. On one side there is Reactionary Intercommunalism which presently holds the world's low-income and working communities under conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression by controlling the wealth, resources and institutions in order to maximize profits for the few. Huey identified this side as the leading reactionary side (that of the ruling class) which consists of a minority, fewer than five percent of the world population. Under these conditions, reactionary intercommunalism, by and large, keeps the poor and working communities on a cycle of degradation, under conditions of reaction, desperation and poverty, with no end in sight. Newton understood that in order to change these conditions and advance the economic and cultural interests of these oppressed communities of the world, disciplined organizations must be built from the bottom up, enabling these low-income and working communities to fight exploitation and oppression by any means necessary (this fight needs to start in the advanced industrialized U.S. because our nation leads the world in political reaction and economic exploitation).

CCBPP advances and upholds the goals which the BPP outlined in its Ten Point Program, and those goals are about ridding black ghettos and low-income and working communities of economic exploitation and political oppression, understanding that we can reach these goals only by seizing the time at the point of practice.

Black Panther Party 10-Point Program

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions that exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency that will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS. We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

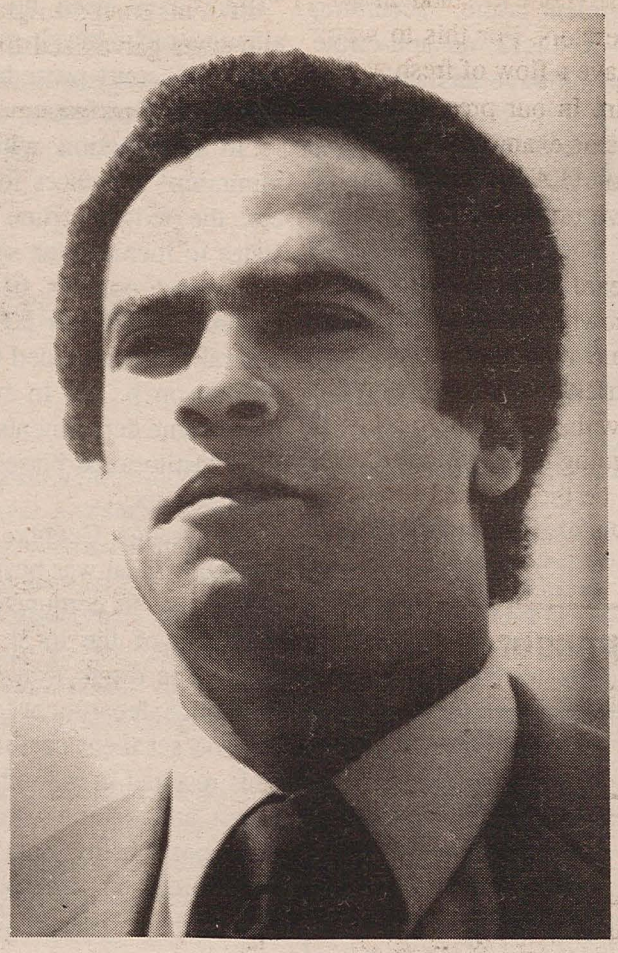
5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE. We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities that will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about because of our oppression, but will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES. We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color, and poor people inside the United States. We believe it's our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION. We believe that the various conflicts that exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY, AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY. We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions that are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.



Black Panther Founder, Dr. Huey P. Newton

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY. When, during human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands that have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Zones Opposed

Continued from page 15

From 1980 and throughout the 12 year Reagan-Bush advocacy for EZs—and now sold using the '90s buzz word of "empowerment zones"—the histories of enterprise zones speak clearly. For over a decade EZs have been sold as a job creating partnership between government and business. In '88 the government's own General Accounting Office reported to Congress that there was no evidence supporting any claim for EZs as job creating accommodations.

In California, State Enterprise Zone Co-ordinator Sam Paredes could only say, "it's still an experimental program. We're still compiling results." Responding to this testimony, Senator Herschel Rosenthal (D., Santa Monica) asked, "You mean to tell me that this has been implemented since 1985 and we don't have any accountability?" Neither Paredes nor Senator Rosenthal referred to the California Revenue and Taxation Board report that, as a job creating strategy, EZs did not work.

Queen Esther Johnson, chair of the Sacramento Workers Benefits Council, said, "when low-income areas are designed as EZs, businesses that move into these areas are given huge tax breaks and pay workers close to minimum wage without benefits. Small business and low-income workers suffer. The focus of EZs is cheap labor. Their effect is to lay off workers in one area and hire in another area at half the wages and these low paying jobs are seldom permanent!"

E-Zones Reduce Wages

EZs reduce wages, and that reduction is also felt by the small businesses in the EZ area. This secondary effect was outlined by Niam Rafferty, representative for the Earthshock '89-'94 Committee of Santa Cruz County.

EZs will decimate what is left of the local consumer base by lowering wages and this will end with squeezing out small businesses.

Whatever the tensions between a neighborhood and its small businesses, Shelby Fermon of Save Our Cities cited their value to the neighborhood saying, "They're the ones—small businesses—that put money back into the community. Small businesses are not the ones taking jobs and investments overseas. The multinational corporations are the only businesses that benefit. The mom and pop businesses don't benefit.

Federal, state and county officials may ignore, for a while, the impact of EZs on small businesses and concentrate on accommodating America Inc., but elected officials must soon listen to small business owners. In the formation of any coalition opposing EZs they are an important voice.

Across the nation, the government-business schemes to create or expand EZs have only worsened the economic situation of the communities involved, and Oakland, CA now has its own EZ. Oakland's designation as an EZ was sold as a job creating plan, a plan to bring jobs to an economically depressed area. But, in fact, it will only create a new problem within Oakland—that phenomenon was described by Priscilla Abbott, the Sacramento Operations Manager for the Western Service Workers Association as follows: "We've fought these kinds of policies since they put in the original training and re-training programs such as CETA, G.A.I.N., and workfare. The basic problem has been, and continues to be, that workers are making less than it costs to live—in or out of an EZ."

"In Nazi Germany," Fermon charged, "the concentration camps made a science of knowing how to feed people to get the needed work done, but still keep them weak with just enough strength to stand in line for the incinerators. For this to work they had to have a flow of fresh workers coming in. In our present society we find the same examples. What they give people on G.A. or welfare is not enough to live on, it's barely enough to make it."

You've heard the saying "It's going to trickle down." It never trickles down! At one time there may have been a little trickle down to the middle class, but now they're withering away. There's not going to be a middle class. It's going to be the rich and the poor, and that's when all hell is going to break loose.

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Book Review: SHADOW

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suppressed despite massive efforts.—ideas like blacks and poor people lifting themselves up without "help" from the government.

We see in COINTELPRO documents in the 1960s that the government would do anything it could to slander and destroy black, Indian, and other radical groups, and the fact that it had to be subtle to maintain a masquerade of a free country did not harm its efforts or keep agents from actually shooting activists that were too considered too much of a threat.

We see an even greater fear, too—the fear that black and white revolutionaries would combine their forces.

There were many attempts by the FBI to make black groups more black nationalist, alienate them from whites. We still see this today in the attempt by the press to portray Martin Luther King, Jr., as exclusively a civil rights leader, ignoring his work for poor people in general, and to only talk about Malcolm X's days of Black nationalism, ignoring the last few years of his life.

Documents released for court cases show COINTELPRO disseminating political cartoons to create a rift between Black Panthers and SDS, and more disinformation to forestall "Rainbow Coalition" of black, white, and Puerto Rican street gangs turned politicians.

In other words, individual activist groups scared the FBI, but signs that different groups might start working together galvanized them into immediate and severe action. This sort of unity also scares the mainstream press, as is reflected today in attempts to reconstruct Martin Luther King, Jr., as exclusively a civil rights leader, minimizing his work on behalf of poor people in general, and to only talk about Malcolm X's days of Black nationalism, ignoring the last few years of life when his ideology increasingly broadened to include oppressed peoples in general.

Now, it would obviously be a mistake to claim that the Black Panthers were perfect, and it is not our intention here to do so. They were a group with high ideals and they were serious about revolution. Mistakes were made along the way. Nor was Huey Newton a perfect leader. And the FBI worked hard to destroy him, assigning agents to follow and harass him all the time...

Despite what books like Shadow of the Panther would have us believe, though, ideas like Huey Newton's do not die with the man. Why should they? The ideas are not affected by his death or the manner in which he died. Instead of trusting what the mainstream media would feed you, we at the Commemorator recommend that you read Bobby Seale's *Seize the Time!* or any of the other fine books that express the ideas of the Black Panther Party. Read them, because they contain insightful ideas and powerful inspiration, the kind that all sorts of oppressed people across the country and around the world need, in this author's humble opinion, as soon as possible!

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Robert Bay

Former Black Panther member, Robert Bay of Oakland, passed away, 2 December 1994. Born April 2, 1944 in Houston, Texas, Robert was 50 years old.

Robert attended school in Oakland, graduated from Oakland High School and later attended San Francisco State University.

He joined the Black Panther Party in 1968 during the historic, student strike for a Black Student Union (BSU) at San Francisco State University.

A person with great compassion for his community, Robert recently helped to distribute food to needy families in West Oakland.

Robert departed this life on Friday. He leaves his loving parents, Jimmie and Lamar Bay; his Aunt, Larue Cave and Uncle, Robert Culpepper; his niece, Angela Singleton and nephews, Manuel and Alex; and a host of friends and loving relatives.

Farewell, Robert

In 1971 Black Panther delegation, including Robert Bay, led by Dr. Huey P. Newton, visited the People's Republic of China.

Robert Bay was a product of the political upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s, the black militant movement that captured the minds and hearts of tens of thousands—if not millions—of people in this country and around the world. He believed and stood for — as did Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Lil' Bobby Hutton and others of his generation—the human rights for his people and all oppressed people, the fight against racial, cultural oppression and economic exploitation. After joining the **Black Panther Party,** he became an organizer, working closely with the Central Committee, coordinating the Office of the Day (OD) at the Party Central Headquarters in Oakland, overseeing some of the day-to-day programs of the many chapters and centers throughout urban America. This included the Free Breakfast Program for children, medical centers, liberation schools for the youth, and the circulation of the *Black Panther Intercommunal News.*

In August 1970, shortly after the release of Dr. Huey P. Newton (**Black Panther Party** founder) from prison, the organization received an invitation for an official visit from the People's Republic of China. Robert Bay was a member of the delegation, led by Dr. Newton, that accepted this invitation and made the trip in September 1971.

The True Nature

Continued from page 17

Slim nose, narrow lips, straight hair and a fair complexion are all beauty to me;
I am black with a broad nose and nappy hair.
What else can I be but ugly?

At first even the churches opposed the Black Panther programs for the people. The church was the place to discharge frustration and hostility so that one could face injustice and hardship the rest of the week. Then, finally a black church opened its doors to serve the Panthers' breakfast for children.

Nothing that happened in the early years of Newton's fight for civil rights and human dignity surprised him because he had studied Frantz Fanon. Fanon pointed out in his *Wretched of the Earth* that "For centuries the capitalists have behaved in the underdeveloped world like nothing more than war criminals," and were not American blacks a colonized people living on land stolen from another colonized people? Did not Fanon write that "All the native has seen in his country is that they can freely arrest him, beat him, starve him; and no professor of ethics, no priest has even come to be beaten in his place, nor to share their bread with him?"

And perhaps most important of all Huey read in Fanon "colonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed with reasoning faculties. It is violence in its natural state, and it will yield when confronted with greater violence."

Huey saw the American white Pharoahs kneeling in the shadow of the pyramids of Wall Street before the Idols of the American state—the Idols of Power, War, Wealth, and Technology, and he broke through the ghetto walls and forced them to hear his cry that all people have rights—all parts of the government have only responsibilities.

Carried away by the challenge, the demand to straighten out man's ways, a prophet is strange, one-sided, an unbearable extremist. Others may suffer from the terror of cosmic aloneness, a prophet is overwhelmed by the grandeur of it all. Huey was no exception. He was a product of his times and of his people.

If there were ever a misfit, an outsider in all of history, he is surely the Black vis-a-vis American society. He seeks to replace economic incentives and racism with justice, while the nation resorts to economic incentives and racism to replace him; he struggles to be in the vanguard to reconstruct society, while nation reconstructs technology so that he is no longer needed. His songs are the saddest songs in all the world.

The pace of scientific and technological change destroys the lower rungs of the economic ladder just as most blacks begin to reach them. Racism prevails: It must be taken for one of the fundamental attributes of American society.

Racism is maintained by a class of whites who see money as its god, plunder its morality, cruelty and terror its means. No sovereigns were ever more despotic, more covetous, more vindictive, more pitiless, more proud of their crimes. No one in world history has had as much power as they but, their words will not be long remembered.

However, no logical commentary could add force or longevity to the Hebrew prophet's statement, "What mean ye that ye grind the faces of the poor;" no one needs to defend the injunction, "Judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

These words and the thousands of similar words that Huey used in the early years of the Black Panthers stand of themselves. They are unassailable and they will never wear out. Thousands of years will leave them the same; time will not touch them.

The injustices that Huey P. Newton, Doctor of Philosophy, fought against are still with us. The attitudes of those responsible for those injustices have changed very little. Today, still, sacred fires are burning on the altars throughout the land. Money is being dropped into collection plates. Priests are burning incense, songs of solemn assemblies are reverberating. Pilgrims are on the road, pageantries in the sacred places. Our nation is overburdened with sanctity. Yet, in the black ghettos the pelican and bittern are still roosting on the roofs of the shabby schools, the owl hoots in the windows of homes, the raven is on the doorstep. Overall there has been no change for the better.

Human experience does not change. Love and grief and joy remain forever the same. Beauty remains forever beautiful and poetic truth is always true. All peoples' basic needs are the same. The true nature of anything, Aristotle said, is what it becomes at its highest. The true nature of Huey Newton was unsurpassed.

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